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EAST ASIA

KOREA

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OLYMPICS

KPA SOLDIERS MOBILIZED FOR KWANGBOK PROJECT

41100147 Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 6 May 87 p 1

[Text] A new revolutionary spirit is lively at the Kwangbok Street construction site.

Holding high the historic policy speech of the great leader, the Kwangbok Street construction workers, who have vigorously launched into the fruitful new year's battle carrying out the new plan, are continuing to create new miracles and innovations everyday in high revolutionary enthusiasm to complete construction for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students ahead of schedule.

In the midst of a fiercely blazing firestorm of speed battle everywhere at the construction site, the soldiers of Yi Tong-ch'un's unit of the Korean People's Army on 4 May held an on-site rally and firmly vowed to brilliantly carry out the party's decision and directives and to take the lead in Kwangbok Street construction.

Functionaries from related fields participated in the rally together with soldier-workers.

Those giving reports and speeches stated that Kwangbok Street construction, which is vigorously advancing under the clear-sighted leadership of the party and the leader, is a glorious and worthwhile project to make the capital of the revolution, Pyongyang, even more magnificent and splendid and to ensure the success of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students and joint North-South sponsorship of the Olympics.

They pointed out that our party has clearly set the course and plans for Kwangbok Street construction, and is energetically leading the entire party, the entire nation, and the entire people to launch vigorously into, and press forward with this construction with lightning speed.

They pointed out that the beloved Comrade Kim Chong-il has recently on various occasions personally overseen the form of Kwangbok Street construction and has provided systematic tasks in order to vigorously accelerate the construction, and he has entrusted one of the major projects--the apartment building construction--to soldiers of the People's Army and has bestowed great,

great confidence in the soldier-builders so that they might stand in the forefront of the meaningful struggle.

They emphasized the fact that this glorious battle task, which they have accepted, is filled with the great, great expectations and warm love of our party. These expectations and love place the soldiers, who during earlier periods have accepted the call of the party and all together come forward to demonstrate great achievements in each difficult and strenuous battle-ground of socialist construction, in the forefront of Kwangbok Street construction.

They also stated that the hearts of all the soldiers, who have warmly accepted the battle task, are throbbing with boundless emotion and enthusiasm and overflowing with fiery resolve to demonstrate to the whole world the heroic spirit of Chuche Korea by holding high the glory of sentries who are each a match for 100, breaking through all difficulties and brilliantly accomplishing the will of the party.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, who is secretary and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, has stated the following:

"All soldier's must clearly understand our party's line and policies and the plans set forth by the party at various times, and thoroughly strive to support and achieve them."

Those given reports and speeches noted the need for soldiers of the People's Army to bring about a new upsurge in apartment building construction, by raising high the decisions and directives of the party and vigorously accelerating the march of the eighties in the style of constructing the Namp'o lockgates under the Banner of the Three Great Revolutions in Thought, Technology, and Culture.

They emphasized that the soldier-construction workers stand before the battle objective of having to finish, in a few months, a vast amount of work, including 20,000 cubic meters of excavation and 15,000 cubic meters of concrete pouring work, and constructing apartments for hundreds of families, together with convenience and service facilities.

They pointed out that all functionaries and soldiers must display an attitude of unending loyalty to the party and the leader in the practical struggle for Kwangbok Street construction, in order to put into effect the construction plan of the party.

They noted the need actively to learn from the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, who carried out their assigned revolutionary tasks with a revolutionary spirit, a spirit that said they did not even have the right to die until they had achieved the commands of the comrade commanders, and to improve themselves with a revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle, with

a spirit that can cross burning rivers and march on muddy roads, resolving the present problems through their own efforts.

They pointed out the need to fight boldly, with incomparable fortitude and steel-like resolve, opening the work site on a vast scale and pressing forward the construction battle with full efforts, and, while ensuring the highest standard of quality for construction, to exceed the work tasks each day, each 10-day period, and each month.

At the same time, they pointed out the need vigorously to conduct technological innovation by the masses, and for all soldier-workers to become pioneers of technical innovation, and increase the level of mechanization of construction, and complete construction ahead of schedule, actively using new construction methods.

Those giving reports and speeches emphasized the need faithfully to accept the leadership of the party and to hold high a demonstration of the philosophy of the heroism of the masses in Kwangbok Street construction, and, completing construction of apartments ahead of schedule, to exhibit the power of sentries who are each a match for 100, thereby loyally repaying the great, great faith and expectations of the party and the leader.

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COMPARISON OF FOUR POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS

41070239 Seoul WOLGAN KYONGHYANG in Korean Aug 87 pp 114-139

[Article by Media Specialist Yi Yong-sok: "Contest for Power: Three Candidates? or Two Candidates?"]

[Text] No Tae-u at Starting Point

DJP Chairman No Tae-u's 29 June statement marked a new departure and political turnaround for him. By all account, it seems that he made his decision all by himself. Recommending to the president an eight-point democratization proposal, including a direct presidential election system, he reportedly told the president he would quit all his public posts, including the the party chairmanship if his recommendation was rejected. This seems to have reflected his determination to sacrifice himself, if necessary, to quell the political turmoil.

It appears that No Tae-u made his eight-point recommendation as part of his election strategy. The measures for the revocation of the 14 April decision and for the adoption of a direct presidential election system were necessary to diffuse the turmoil, because these two measures were the main objectives sought by the national rally on 10 June and the mammoth peaceful march on 26 June. The rest of the measures recommended represented an outright concession to the desire of the people for democracy. They are: granting of amnesty and the restoration of civil rights and the release of political prisoners; the expansion of the people's basic rights; freedom of the press; the introduction of local autonomy and autonomy in education; free activities of political parties; and measures to purify society.

Some of the measures included in the No Tae-u statement were so drastic that even the opposition parties could not have offered anything better. By his statement in question, he hoped to calm the political turmoil at one stroke by completely accommodating the trends in the public sentiments. His statement really deserves being called a special statement which is intended, as he himself said, to achieve national reconciliation and make the nation move forward to become a great nation.

Needless to say, it will be far more difficult to put the measures outlined in the statement into practice in the future than to pledge to implement them. Nevertheless, the determination expressed in his statement was sufficient to allay the enmity of the opposition camp toward him and to give a sense of relief to the people who were uneasily watching the political future of the country. Even Kim Tae-chung, cochairman of the Council for the Promotion of Democracy [CPD], who as far as his personal relations concerned, is said to be farther apart from No Tae-u than anybody else, reacted by saying, "I feel a refreshing shock and a renewed sense of trust in mankind."

The action No Tae-u took immediately following his 29 June statement also gives the impression that he acted with the coming election in mind rather than in his capacity as the party chairman. Leaving the discussion of his statement entirely up to the party machinery for approval or disapproval, he headed for the national cemetery at Tongjak-Tong. Offering a silent prayer before the monument to the war dead, he sank in deep thought while touching the tombstone bearing the epithet, "This is a place sanctified by the spirit of the nation." He wound up his visit to the national cemetery with the words, "I feel relieved as if some lump in my chest has just melted away." He then headed straight for Hyonchungsa Temple in Asan, South Chungchong Province. After offering a silent prayer before the portrait of Admiral Yi Sun-sin, he said, "I came here to renew in my heart, even for a moment, the memory of the determination with which the admiral went into battle." All this gesture following his statement seems to suggest that his party was prepared to go out of power, depending on the outcome of the coming election.

He said a lot at the temple for the first time. It was impressive that he had this to say: "In the past the combat police have had a hard time; the students also have had a hard time in the turmoil; the people have been worried; and the Olympics have also been at stake." By these words he meant to say that his statement would be accepted by the President and that the political strife would be resolved, making the political upheaval a thing of the past. It seems that his calculation took into consideration the possibility that the public ecstasy over his "bold decision," which ended the month-long chaos persisting in the smoke screens of tear gas in June, would open a new political vista for him." Amid this expectation, he is now at a starting point for building up a new image of himself.

The nomination of Chairman No Tae-u as DJP presidential candidate was made in accordance with the President's decision. On 2 June President Chon, in his capacity as the DJP president, summoned members of the Central Executive Committee and the speaker and vice speakers of the National Assembly to the Blue House. At this meeting he recommended Chairman No as the DJP's presidential candidate, paying tribute to his "career as a political leader who has an outstanding security perception and who has both political and administrative experiences." The meeting agreed to the recommendation by acclamation. Upon returning to his home in Yonhui-Tong after being recommended as presidential candidate, Chairman No did not try to hide his emotion.

He said: "The moment I was recommended as a candidate, tears suddenly came to my eyes and I felt a lump in my chest. The President told me to say a few

words, but I did not know what to say. After a while, I said that I was so overwhelmed by the call of history that I did not know what to do."

A week later, on 10 June, Chairman No was officially nominated as DJP presidential candidate at Seoul Stadium in Chamsil. More than 8,000 deputies took part in the nomination, although he was the only one on the slate. While the voting was in progress, entertainers presented a gala program, turning the uncontested nomination convention into a festival.

As the nomination was made without competition, no contest worthy of the name was also anticipated for the election of an electoral college. So, it appeared that he was on the road to power, with only formalities left before reaching the destination. However, his acceptance speech was far from optimistic.

He said: "Only for the sake of the genuine democratic development of the country, I am ready to gladly hold a dialogue with anyone on any subject. The opposition parties should not be afraid of or hesitant about dialogue. For the success of the two major national events in 1988, and to cope with the trade war, I urge them to return to the regular political arena and the forum of dialogue.... To be sure, it is difficult to resolve at one stroke those problems concerning the development of democracy which have piled up, left unsolved, for the past decades and which have been carried down to our generation. They cannot be solved by demagogic slogans or group disturbances."

On the Eve of the 29 June Statement

It was due to the development outside the nomination convention that he had no alternative but to include in his acceptance speech these themes which are not usually fit for such an occasion. By the developments we mean the waves of demonstrations. In 20 cities across the country, including Pusan, Taegu, Kwangju, and Chonju, not to mention Seoul, protest rallies were held under the sponsorship of the National Campaign Headquarters, a coalition of the opposition camp. The participants demanded the repeal of the 13 April statement and denounced the DJP's 10 June nomination convention. On that day alone, more than 3,800 people, mostly students, were escorted away by authorities.

The Myondong cathedral was seized by students as a stronghold for their long-term resistance. This development stood in his way like a tide far more formidable than any competition which he would have to face in the days ahead. Demonstrations continued next day, and the day after next. It was an ominous sign that the nomination of a presidential candidate by the ruling party was greeted, not by the blessings of the people, but amid a strong rejection and criticism by the opposition camp and under tight security. This presaged a rough road ahead for him.

While demonstrations were going on, Chairman No held a press conference in an effort to find a way out of the impasse. He expressed readiness to extensively revise the Presidential Election Law, instead of amending the constitution. He hinted at making a public pledge to shorten the term of the

government which will be established in February 1988. He also promised to amend the constitution by agreement between the ruling and opposition party as soon as possible after the 1988 Olympics.

He wanted to avoid holding a presidential election boycotted by the opposition. Nevertheless he said: "Despite the opposition's assurance that the demonstrations would be peaceful, we have witnessed that no act could be more violent than these acts of arson, violence, disorderiness, and lawlessness. As long as opposition parties are held hostage by the left extremists, no peaceful demonstration can be expected." He then demanded that "the opposition parties part company with the violent elements in the opposition camp and return to the political arena." He expressed his determination not to be pushed around by the opposition camp and made it clear, at least, that the political schedule will start according to the current constitution.

Whether Chairman No's 29 June statement was his own decision or not is likely to be an issue in the presidential election, because the statement is a starting point for improving his image. The inauguration of the RDP was the rationale for the 13 April decision. It was obvious that the inauguration of the RDP by splitting the NKDP meant the rejection of the school of compromise within the NKDP. That is why by the 13 April decision, negotiations on constitutional revision were put off until after the Olympics, thus paving the way for his nomination as presidential candidate. But with the passage of time, he further softened. He said he had been given full authority by the President to do whatever necessary to diffuse the current crisis and pledged to take the lead in finding the way out of the present crisis by sacrificing himself if necessary. He hoped for a talk with RDP President Kim Yong-sam, but the talk did not materialize.

After all, it was the President who held the talks. Meanwhile, No Tae-u frequented the Blue House. In his 29 June statement, No said, "In view of the current social chaos, I have come to the conclusion that there is no alternative but to adopt a direct presidential election system in order to achieve national reconciliation."

At 9:20 am, when Chairman No's statement was televised, a meeting of the senior presidential secretaries was in progress at the Blue House to discuss the content of his statement. The then presidential spokesman, Yi Chong-yul, recalling that Chairman No was given the responsibility and authority to deal with the political crisis, he thought that the president will soon make a decision on No's statement.

In the absence of Chairman No, the DJP Central Executive Committee endorsed his statement, and in the afternoon the DJP caucus endorsed the 29 June statement as an official party stand.

Image Brought into Relief

The DJP has embarked upon an extensive public relations campaign to stress that Chairman No's 29 June statement reflected his own decision. The PR pamphlet originally had the title "Heroic Decision for National Salvation,"

but later the title changed by No himself into "Statement by No Tae-u, Who Walks With the People."

The DJP seemed to be encouraged by the seeming shift in public opinion in its favor as a result of the dramatic moves its chairman, No Tae-u, made immediately on the heels of the 29 June statement. The DJP, having recovered from an initial shock, appeared to be buoyed by a ray of hope, which is quite a realistic one. Party leaders were pooling their wisdom to seize an advantageous position in the coming race for the reins of government by stabilizing this trend.

However, the refusal to accept the wreath sent by No Tae-u for the coffin of Yi Han-yol, who was killed by a tear gas bomb, dampened such an upbeat optimism. Further tough antigovernment sentiments demonstrated by what happened on 9 July, the day of funeral for Yi, cast a dark cloud over the future. The funeral procession in Seoul which covered the streets of Seoul with human waves, and the slogans on the banners which meandered through the streets, looked so stormy as to overwhelm the burgeoning tide of No Tae-u's popularity following the 29 June statement.

Through a series of moves, Chairman No has recently showed considerable progress in improving his image. According to the party's appraisal, the result has exceeded the expectation. If so, there is a need to examine how his image will stabilize in the future.

Chairman No was one of the four protagonists who played a leading role in inaugurating the Fifth Republic. As of 26 October 1979, he was the commander of the 9th Division, and on the fateful 12 December, by sending his troops into Seoul, played a key role in firing General Chong Sung-hwa, the then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and concurrently martial law commander.

Immediately afterward, he was appointed as commander of the Capital Security Force, thus at the center of the martial law administration. With the expansion of martial law on 17 May 1980, which was the signal for the start of the Fifth Republic, he was appointed concurrently as a member of the National Security Committee. On 13 August he was appointed as the commander of the Defense Security Command. On 16 August, President Choe Kyu-hwa relinquished his post; on 22 August, Chon Tu-hwan stepped down as permanent chairman of the National Security Committee; on 23 August General Chon Tu-hwan was elected as president by members of the National Council for Unification; on 25 February 1981, he was inaugurated as president under the constitution of the Fifth Republic. In his position as commander of the Defense Security Command, No Tae-u played a leading role in establishing a new political order through this rapid succession of events.

On 15 September 1981, 5 months after the inauguration of the Fifth Republic, No cast off his military uniform. Because of his role in the process of giving birth to the Fifth Republic, he came to carry a tag as President Chon's would-be successor.

However, contrary to public expectations, he walked down a quiet road. He started out as a minister without portfolio in charge of foreign and security

affairs, but in September in the following year, he was appointed as minister of the newly established Ministry of Physical Education. But when the home minister resigned, taking the responsibility for the incident in which a policeman radomly shot his rifle at people, No filled the vacancy. People said that as expected, he had begun moving step by step closer to the center of power. But, in July 1983, slightly over a year later, he gave up his post as home minister and ensconced himself as chairman of the Olympics Organization Committee, a nonpolitical post.

Amid the shock generated by the surging tide of NKDP during the 1 February 1985 general elections, No entered the political scene as chairman of the DJP. He appeared to have stood at a starting point for becoming a presidential successor. At that time, there was a foreboding that he would have to go through many trials for as a would-be successor.

The Democratic Korea Party, which had cooperated with the DJP for four years as a fellow traveler, was relegated to the third opposition party from the major opposition party, and soon afterward it virtually fell apart. The gale of the New Democratic Party smashed to smithereens by one stroke the multiparty system which had been the foundation of order under the Fifth Republic, and portended the ascendancy of the two Kims--who made this change possible--to the forefront of politics.

No Tae-u showed his solemn determination. He called for change in the party-government order and the renovation of party discipline in order to rectify the self-complacent attitude of the government and the ruling party, which has lasted for the past 4 years and more and which was graphically exposed by the outcome of the 12 February elections. Vowing to change the DJP into a new party, he said he would strive for intraparty democracy and initiate politics of dialogue, treating opposition parties as rivals in good faith rather than as fellow travelers. But he was unable to push his ideals through the walls of reality. In the cross winds of the Campus Stability Law, he retracted his voice and swam with the trend of the ruling camp. When he faltered, he was criticized, in and out of the party, for being indecisive or being overly interested in personal concern. When his call for dialogue-based politics hit the wall, his political ability was called in question. Front-runner in the race for presidential successor as he was, he was unable to show his own color or have his own voice because his relationship with the president was one between party president and his appointee. From his position as one who knows the power structure of the Fifth Republic better than anyone else, he might have had no alternative but to swim with the tide. But as his principle that the party should be led by politics was pushed aside, even the possibility of his becoming the successor seemed to become uncertain.

Surfaced as Candidate Through Patience

People used to say that they No Tae-u seemed to have emerged too early as a would-be successor. When this gossip was in circulation, he said: "I have never thought of becoming the successor. The circumstances and atmosphere have changed a lot, and I will try to condition myself in such a manner that people would say I am fit for a politician."

But in May last year, he suddenly got closer to becoming the successor when he was assigned the job of negotiating on constitutional revision.

At a time when the opposition hit the streets demanding constitutional revision, Chairman No was one of the most staunch opponents of constitutional revision. His position was that because a direct presidential system would be prone to touch off a regional battle and spread the tide of distrust, rather we should further experiment with the current constitution, a modified version of the U.S. election system adjusted to our peculiarities. Nevertheless, under the presidential decision of 30 April 1986 to begin debate on the constitutional revision issue at party level, No Tae-u undertook to conduct negotiations for constitutional revision.

The DJP presented the proposal for a parliamentary cabinet system of government, and No also made feverish efforts to push this proposal through. It seemed that success of the negotiations on constitutional revision was an important prerequisite for assuring him of the successor's position, to which he had come very close. However, he failed to work out an agreement. The negotiations on constitutional revision was called off in the end. But, contrary to speculation in some quarters, he was chosen as the heir-apparent sooner than expected. Although there was another about-face in his view immediately afterward, he succeeded not only in maintaining his position as heir-apparent but also improving his standing.

He has decided to agree to the system of government which will allow direct election for president, but he persists in his view that the direct presidential election system is far from ideal. He said that he still believes that the parliamentary cabinet system of government will be more effective than the presidential system of government in making democracy take hold in this country. Asked by a reporter, at a press conference following his 29 June statement, whether it was not true that the DJP had been pressing for the parliamentary cabinet form of government for fear of defeat in the election, No Tae-u vehemently shook his head.

He said: "Whether we will win or lose is not the problem.... Seen from the point of view of the ruling party, there is no reason why we should lose or be in a disadvantageous position. All that the direct presidential election system did in the history of our constitution was retrogression instead of progress. That is why we came up with the parliamentary cabinet system. With their inveterate rejection mentality against the Yusin rule still alive, it is the wish of our people "to elect the president by our own hands." So, don't you think we ought to let them make their own choice? But, when we adopt a direct election system, we should not let democratic development be impeded by groundless character assassination, mass demagoguery, chaos and disorder, and an appeal to regional sentiments. We should lay the groundwork for competing in good faith over policy issues.

When a reporter pointed out that "you have stressed the need for making constitutional revision by consensus, predicting that an agreement would be reached at the last moment, just on the verge of a cliff, but nobody expected that you would make a turnaround." To this, No Tae-u responded, "You said I have made a turnaround, didn't you? At heart, I still maintain the idea about

the parliamentary cabinet system. Mark my words, it won't be long before the opposition will start pressing for the parliamentary cabinet system. When that stage comes, we will be enjoying genuine democracy."

When the mantle of the presidential successor was within his reach, No said that when he became a candidate, he would rather be called the candidate than the successor-designate. This is because the word "successor" has a strong connotation of a man appointed by the person in power, but the word "candidate" would give him an improved image of a man elected by party deputies.

Nevertheless, his debut as candidate was a result of a designation rather than an outcome of an election. However, by making his important decision to issue his 29 June statement, he upgraded his own position from the successor-designate to a more prestigious position as the nominee for the presidential candidacy.

As far as his past is concerned, he was the leading protagonist in starting the Fifth Republic and has always been acted within a given framework. That is why some people have been skeptical about his ability to bring about change or create a new image for himself. However, he has succeeded in reaching his position as successor-designate without following in the foot steps of those other potential successors who failed to be designated as the successor. Although he faltered at times or he failed to show colors of distinctively his own, it does him justice to say that his success is due to his patience--he often stresses that patience is a form of courage.

He has tried hard to overcome the image of being a hard liner or being authoritarian, a label which is often attached to military-turned politicians. In this regard, he is rated as being successful. His critics say his behavior shows a lack of independence or decisiveness, but the more favorable opinion prevails that he is (according to the NEW YORK TIMES) by far more tolerant toward the opposition and has a personality which makes him easier to deal with. This may be attributable to his efforts to respect the party machinery, to be patient in dialogues with his opponents, and to regard patience as a virtue for those in power.

Candidate No's Advantages and Disadvantages

Another task awaiting him is that of building his party's preparedness for the coming election. President Chon gave up his post as party president and turned it over to Chairman No. This may be interpreted as a double-edged move.

First, it was intended to accord to Chairman No a position and authority suitable to the man at the helm of politics in his capacity as the DJP presidential candidate. Second, it may be construed as the partial acceptance of the opposition call for a pan-national interim cabinet.

All DJP executives turned in their resignations following the 29 June statement. President Chon, who was also the party president, returned them after having withheld them for a week. The return of the resignations was

interpreted as a sign that President Chon was prepared to relinquish his post as party president. At that time, there were two opposing views within the party regarding the president's move.

Some party officials were against giving No Tae-u the post of party presidency, arguing, "now that Chairman No has the political initiative in his hands, there is no need for him to take over the post of party president as well; it would rather weaken the current system of party-government cooperation." On the other hand, others maintained that real power should officially be turned over to Chairman No so that he could enhance his leadership and improve his image.

After all, the issue of turning over the party presidency was settled by accepting the latter view. No Tae-u, now as party president, is faced with the task of reorganizing the party after his own image. As for the direction of reorganization, he should heed the reorganization call which has been rising within the party for sometime. There has a demand for democracy within the party itself. There is also the demand that the party change its image from the present tough image, not only in the eyes of party members but also in the eyes of the public in general, to the gentle image of a pliable party on the road to democracy. With the relationship between the ruling and opposition parties undergone an 180 degree change, there should be a new party leadership lineup capable of coping with the new negotiating circumstances. In the final analysis, the new leadership under President No, the DJP will have no alternative but to shift its stance and embrace the moderates and pro-opposition elements within the party.

The cabinet existing at the time when the 29 June statement was issued, had the image of a hard-line government charged with the duty to take up the challenge posed by the 13 April presidential decision [to terminate the negotiation on constitutional amendment]. Therefore, there was the need for all incumbent members of that cabinet from the DJP to step down in order to allow the formation of a new cabinet along that line. The 13 July cabinet reshuffle which came on the heels of the change in the political wind was ostensibly intended a new cabinet composed of moderates, flexible elements, and even those who are more accommodating to the opposition and/or who are even neutral.

If this cabinet reshuffle was intended as a partial acceptance of the opposition demand for an interim cabinet supported by the whole nation, the party-government consultative council, which has been a conduit for reading cooperation between the government and the ruling party, may go out of existence. As mentioned earlier, some party officials gave the possible weakening of this system of cooperation as their reason for opposing President Chon's turning over his post as party president to No Tae-u.

It seems that Present Chon plans to maintain a detached stance until his term expires. Some in the ruling party seem to fear that if the DJP should look like a majority party out of power and appear to have become weakened, then it would cause uneasiness to the progovernment forces. But others refute this view by saying there may be an advantage sufficient to offset this possibility. According to this school of thought, the detached stance of the

President will help his party cultivate an ability to sail through the stark realities and will serve as a signal that the ruling party will resolutely take up the challenges given by the opposition camp.

At any rate, it appears that No's star is rising, for the time being at least, as he sets out as the DJP candidate for the direct presidential election. It is also clear that the reorganization of the party has started, and there is no turning back. However, whether the sudden upsurge in his popularity in these days will take hold is a question he has yet to solve by himself. Because of his 29 June statement, he was praised so highly as to be called a "hero," (in the words of U.S. Ambassador Lilley), but there are many signs here and there indicating that a rough passage awaits him.

He is responsible for implementing the eight-point package plan contained in his statement, but the actual power to implement it belongs to the government and its actual implementation depends on success in negotiations with the opposition.

The 7-year record of the Fifth Republic can be an advantage for him if he is installed as president. But there are many disadvantages also. The Kwangju uprising may be one of them. In his recent interview by NEWSWEEK, he was asked about his role in the incident. His reply was: "At that time I was the commander of the Capital Defense Division, which was in charge of the lives and property of the citizens of Seoul. At the news of the outbreak of the Kwangju incident, I was really worried and prayed, as all the people of Korea did, that this unfortunate incident would be brought to an end without bloodshed." Until he makes his way through the election race, he is bound to bear the burden of having to encounter a string of troublesome questions like this.

Choosing Between the Two Kims Is a Problem

Interest in the forthcoming presidential election is focused on finding out who will be the presidential candidate of the opposition camp. A difficult problem facing the RDP is how to settle the rivalry between Kim Yong-sam, its president, and Kim Tae-chung, chairman of the Council for the Promotion of Democracy [CPD].

There are two characteristics which are in common with the two Kims. One is that both are powerful presidential candidates with a broad base of public support. The other is that they are symbols of democracy. The problem is that only one man can be the president when there is a transfer of political power.

Under democracy, in the absence of any special circumstance, it will be appropriate to name a presidential candidate through competition in good faith, a universally acceptable process. But in the case of the two Kims, a special circumstance stands in the way of such contest.

The two Kims have cooperated with each other, and they still pledge to continue to cooperate, and there is always the need for cooperation. They have the ambition to come into power, but both of them say they would rather

be remembered as the man of the time symbolizing democracy than as a man with an unquenchable political ambition. Kim Tae-chung, in particular, publicly pledged last November that he would not run for the presidency. At the 1 July CPD Standing Committee session, the two Kims, sitting next to each other, pledged that they would not compete with each other by vote for the presidential candidacy, vowing to honor their pledge before the nation and the world.

As far as the two Kims are concerned, any competition in good faith has become incompatible with their cooperative relationship. This pledge, as well as the ardent public desire for democracy, stands in the way of competition. If the two should renege on their pledge, the public may abandon both of them. Nevertheless, the state of rivalry between them over the candidacy is likely to persist for the time being.

Immediately after the decision was made to adopt the direct presidential election system, it was anticipated that the rivalry between the two Kims would be overcome because of Kim Tae-chung's pledge not to run. On 29 February when No Tae-u issued his statement, a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives was holding a hearing on political changes in Korea. Chairman Solarz recalled Kim Tae-chung's pledge. He asked Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur, who had just returned from Seoul: "As Chairman No's proposal was excellent, so is Mr Kim Tae-chung's pledge not to compete for presidential candidacy if President Chon agrees to a constitutional amendment which will allow direct presidential elections. Did you receive the impression that Mr Kim Tae-chung will not run in the presidential race?" Assistant Secretary Sigur replied, "Yes, I did. I think I have confirmed it once again."

Probably because of this view, foreign press agencies did not pay much attention to the rivalry within the opposition camp. The LOS ANGELES TIMES said, "Kim Tae-chung has said that he would not run for in the presidential election, instead he would devote himself to strengthening the RDP."

But it was not long before speculation arose that there was uncertainty surrounding the opposition candidacy, and with this speculation came a warning that there might be an internal split. The NEW YORK TIMES said: "Now the question is whether the two will maintain their long-standing joint front or bring develop discord because of their personal ambition. Kim Yong-sam insists that there is no difference of opinion between the two, and Kim Tae-chung also has been saying, thus far, that he has no interest in running for the presidency. But RDP President Kim Yong-sam has been noncommittal as to whether or not he will run."

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR noted that "the people are closely watching whether the uneasy opposition coalition will once again return to its inherent factionalism," adding that "a split between the two Kims provides the ruling party with the greatest opportunity of staying in power, and Chairman No Tae-u's strategy is based on this contingency."

Pledge Not To Run a Shackle?

Immediately following No's 29 June statement, Kim Tae-chung was asked on many occasions whether his pledge not to run for the Presidency still stood. His immediate reaction was roundabout. He said, "it is my wish to cooperate with the people in realizing democratization. I have no interest in becoming president." Asked if he would support Kim Yong-sam when the latter ran for the presidency, he avoided making a direct answer by saying, "that is a matter which should be discussed in that event."

The initial reaction of those National Assembly members who belong to the Tonggyo-Tong group (the Kim Tae-chung faction) was this: What Kim Tae-chung meant to say in his statement was that he would not run for the presidency under the present regime; therefore, logically speaking, it should remain in force until next February. RDP Vice Presidents Yi Chung-chae and Yi Yong-hui said that at any rate the promise should be kept.

But this initial reaction was gradually modified thereafter. On a few days later, Vice President Yi Yong-hui, reiterated that the Kim Tae-chung's pledge not to run for the presidency still stood. However, he added that about the time when the revision of the constitution and the election law were completed--in his opinion, an important factor which will provide room for change in this stance--it might be possible that the question will arise as to which one of the two Kims should be chosen as presidential candidate.

In this connection, it is in order to scrutinize the statement disavowing any intent to run for the presidency. At the 5 November 1986 CPD session, Cochairman Kim Tae-chung publicly pledged not to run.

He said: "...I have long searched to an opening for a solution, even if I had to sacrifice myself, to cope with the unprecedented crisis. In this effort of mine, Cardinal Kim Su-hwan's Rome statement of 20 October last year provided an important impetus for making up my mind. I am thankful for Cardinal Kim for his special interest in restoring my civil rights and for his advice concerning my future course of action. Now renewing my determination, I would like to state my view to my fellow citizens and to President Chon Tu-hwan... I urge the Chon Tu-hwan regime to stop its hostile suppression of the democratic forces, as well as its conspiracy to stay in power. The Chon regime should choose this course, if for no other purpose but to forestall its own misfortune. If my presence is an obstacle to following this course, I would be glad to sacrifice myself on the altar.

"If the Chon Tu-hwan regime accepts the presidential system of government with direct presidential elections, I declare here and now that I shall not run for the presidential election even when I am pardoned and my civil rights are restored. As I have always emphasized, my purpose in life is to lead a righteous life before God, the people, and my own conscience, instead of trying to become somebody. It is not my goal to become president; my purpose is to help the people with all my might in freeing them from the current darkness and in recovering freedom, justice, and human dignity.

"In conclusion, I would like once again to urge the Chon Tu-hwan regime to make a decision in favor of the presidential form of government with direct presidential elections, while wishing that my elders, friends, and the public who have been giving me encouragement and support, will continue to support me, by understanding the agonizing circumstances in which I had to make this sudden decision to resolve the current dire crisis. I earnestly hope that this decision of mine will give momentum to removing conflict between regions, between the rich and the poor, and between civilians and the military and to achieving national reconciliation and unity on the common ground of democratization."

Elaborating on his decision, Kim Tae-chung said: "Up to now, this regime and the DJP have seized every opportunity to say that the idea of the direct presidential election system is not what the NDP wants but an idea forced upon it by a certain person who wants to be president. They went so far as to publicize, by printed materials and by singling me out by name, that the direct presidential election system is an idea which a certain Kim came up with in an attempt to become president. Quite often, foreign reporters ask me this question: 'When we met with ROK government authorities, they said that if you do not run for the presidency, the government will be ready to accept the presidential system of government with direct elections for president. What is your comment on this?' So, I think my decision will provide the DJP with the ground for accepting a direct presidential election system."

Background of the 5 November Statement

At the press conference that followed his statement, a question-answer session took place.

Question: Are you going to continue the struggle for democratization as before, and how are you going to maintain your relationship with the NDP?

Answer: I feel a load off my mind. I will devote my all, even my life if necessary, to the cause of democracy.

Question: What kind of cooperative ties do you intend to maintain? What are you going to do if Kim Yong-sam becomes a candidate for the presidency under the direct presidential election system?

Answer: I will cooperate more than ever. If that is a decision of Kim Yong-sam and the party, I will actively support him.

Question: To what extent did you consult with your close aides in making your decision?

Answer: The exigencies of the moment and the nature of the situation made it difficult for me to consult with all of my associates. Of course, I consulted or contacted a considerable number of them.

With regard to the background against which he made his statement pledging not to run for the presidential election, it appears that there were three reasons for it. One was an acute sense of crisis. At that time, the political

situation was heading for an acute confrontation over the constitutional revision issue. Big-character communist posters appeared on the Seoul National University campus, the Konguk University incident followed in its wake. Obviously, not only political developments related to the constitutional revision issue but also a series of other developments weighed heavily on him--developments such as successive statements by the government and the ruling party warning against the spread of leftist, procommunist forces; the Konguk University incident which came on the heels of this warning; and the arrest of Assemblyman Yu Song-hwan. About that time, rumor had it that Kim Tae-chung's close aides told him that this was the time he should step back for the sake of the future, because there was the possibility that he would be marked as a target by those leaders in the mainstream of power who had long regarded him as an anathema. In his statement, there are some signs that he heeded this admonition.

Another background factor was Cardinal Kim's remarks, as Kim Tae-chung himself said his statement was prompted by these remarks.

Cardinal Kim's Rome statement was not addressed to Kim Tae-chung alone. In his statement, Cardinal Kim equally urged the President, his aides, and the two Kims to suppress their desire for power and expressed hope that when they did that, current problems would be solved easily. However, Kim Tae-chung had the reason why he was far more responsive to this statement than others.

The people who were the first to advise Kim Tae-chung to pledge not to run for the presidency were Catholic priests. In early January in 1986, 10 priests belonging to the Society of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice met with the two Kims to discuss current affairs. At this meeting, Father Ham Se-ung made a statement to this effect:

"We exchanged our views in advance regarding what we were going to suggest you today. What I am going to tell you now is what we have agreed upon as a common view, and I will now present it on behalf of our group. Mr Kim should keep away from the position as a potential presidential candidate.... The government and the ruling party label you as a demagogic politician, and they do not want to believe you. We do not disagree, but some people think you are a radical, some even say that you have turned leftist. For these and other reasons, there is a strong rejection syndrome against you, and there is a group of people against you. That is why, Mr Kim, you should step back in order to facilitate a transfer of political power.

The cardinal continued: "Mr Kim Yong-sam, you are, in our view, indebted to Mr Kim Tae-chung. You should always remember it. Since you are already in debt to him, why do you not borrow some more from him, while keeping your previous indebtedness in mind. Mr Kim Tae-chung, for your part, you should advance another loan to him. We would like to make this request to both of you: in our opinion, it is right to settle the presidential candidacy issue between two of you in advance; this is an important prerequisite for strengthening the cooperative ties between you two and waging a more effective struggle."

"Advice" From the Religious World

In the spring of that year, about 2 months after the expostulation by the group of Catholic priests as mentioned above, the rumor was in circulation that Cardinal Kim advised him to give up the dream of becoming president. But Kim Tae-chung denied it.... Shortly afterward, important Catholic and Protestant leaders urged Kim Tae-chung to decide not to run for the presidential election. They urged him not to run partly because it was feared that the rejection sentiments against him, at home and abroad, might be used as an excuse to take some emergency measures and partly because this fear was blocking the process of democratization.

During his meeting with NDP President Yi Min-u which took place prior to his departure from Rome, Cardinal Kim gave his view concerning the two Kims in these words:

".... at this moment, the NDP is demanding a pardon for Mr Kim Tae-chung and for the restoration of his civil rights. Mr Kim Tae-chung himself wants the recovery of his rights. Why are you asking the government for the reinstatement of his rights? The moment he really gives up his dream of becoming president, he will, in practice, have recovered his rights.... I know nothing about the details of the inner situation of the NDP, or politics in general, for that matter. Nevertheless, it is a widely known fact that the two Kims are potential candidates for the presidency. The public knows that only one of them can be a presidential candidate, and this generates in them a sense of rivalry. If the two show an attitude which indicates that they have overcome this sense of rivalry and they are really above it, then it will help save the situation, will it not? When I return home from abroad, I am going to meet both of them face to face to tell them what I am telling you now."

As it was, he publicly stated his view while he was abroad, 2 weeks before his scheduled return home. Probably in view of the turmoil in Seoul, which portended a precipitant upheaval, he must have thought that it would be too late if he made such an advice directly to them upon his return home. At any rate, all these developments were in the background against which Kim Tae-chung, announcing his pledge not to run for the presidential election, thanked Cardinal Kim for having special interest in recovering his civil rights and offering an advice with regard to his future course of action.

Some analysts said that one of the factors which prompted him to make such a pledge was the attitude of the United States, which was not favorably disposed toward him. Kim Tae-chung himself admitted it when he quoted foreign reporters as saying to him, "If you do not run for the presidency, they say they would support the presidential system of government with direction presidential election."

Quite often, through foreign reporters, politicians can have access to the frank opinions of foreign authorities, who are the sources of news for those reporters. Kim Tae-chung cannot be an exception. The U.S. Government hoped that the Korean political turmoil would be calmed through a compromise between the ruling and opposition parties, and in fact, tried hard to mediate toward

this end. In this process, U.S. officials pointed out from time to time that Kim Tae-chung's ambition stood in the way of compromise. They hinted that a decision on the part of Kim Tae-chung not to run for election would be the key to resolving political disputes, including the issue of a pardon for him and the recovery of his civil rights. Even influential American newspapers quoted diplomatic sources as saying that the rejection sentiments against Kim Tae-chung still existed and that if the possibility of his coming into power should become very high, it would be possible to touch off some unforeseen development. Before Kim Tae-chung made his statement pledging not to run for election, U.S. officials had contacted him.

At that time, Kim Tae-chung had an advance consultation with his close aides. [NDP] Vice President Yang Sun-chik is one of the persons who are widely known as having advised him to decide not to run for election.

The night before 5 November, the day he issued his statement, Kim Tae-chung invited 10 or more of top leaders of his faction to dinner, during which he informed them of his decision. To Cardinal Kim, who had returned home from Rome, Kim Tae-chung had his son, Hong-il, deliver his written message expressing his "gratitude to His Eminence Cardinal Kim for his kind advice."

Pledge Not To Run for Election Faded

The opposition camp's reaction to his 5 November statement was epitomized in the expression that it was an appropriate decision. The Tonggyo-tong faction, the group of Kim Tae-chung followers, welcomed his statement of intent not to run for the presidential election, with a sense of relief and pride.

Kim Tae-chung told top leaders of his faction that the government and the ruling party regarded him as a man afflicted with a morbid desire for the presidency and that the declaration of his decision to give up his bid for power had vanished this groundless accusation. Following his statement, telephones poured in from all over the country. According to a public disclosure by the office of his secretary, the tally showed that telephone calls hailing the statement as "courageous decision" came from every nook and corner of the country, but some calls from the southwestern area expressed disappointment.

Because the statement of pledge not to run for the presidency was so unequivocal at that time that it seems that his statement is bound to become a liability for him. But his pledge appears to have faded. Kim Tae-chung held a press conference on 9 July, following his pardon and the recovery of his civil rights, during which he made these points:

"I do not think the latest action of the government falls within the category of the condition I mentioned in my November statement. At that time, I said if President Chon Tu-hwan adopted the direct presidential election system on his own initiative, I said I would not run for the presidency. The people themselves have won the direct presidential election system through struggle; therefore President Chon's decision to accept the direct presidential election system was not a voluntary one made on his own accord. Nevertheless, as of this moment, I have made no decision as to whether I will run for election or

not.... After I declared that I would not run for the presidency, there were so many telephone calls to my house criticizing my decision that I began to feel that with one wrong step, I might put myself in the hot seat, politically as well as in terms of human relations. That is why I plan to tour various localities to humbly listen to public opinion before making up mind. If I decide not to run, I will not run even if some people are against this decision. But if I judge that it will be difficult to go against public opinion, I will deal with the situation accordingly. At any rate, I will consult with RDP President Kim Yong-sam on this matter to handle it properly."

Kim Tae-chung's statement following his pardon and recovery of his civil rights voids his 5 November pledge not to run for the presidency, making the rivalry for presidential candidacy the most difficult hurdle the opposition camp has yet to clear.

There are fears that in case the selection of a joint candidate of the opposition camp is delayed, the rivalry within the opposition camp will have ripple effects on the the relationship between the ruling and opposition parties and on the adjustment of the opposition parties' alignment with outside opposition groups, let alone fears that it would weaken the opposition camp's own fighting strength. The Kim Yong-sam side prefers an early selection of the candidate, whereas the Kim Tae-chung side takes a diametrically opposite stand.

As far as intraparty influence is concerned, the Kim Yong-sam side has an advantage because he holds the post of the party presidency. Leaders of various forces within the opposition camp also think that Kim Yong-sam has an edge. Probably, this may be one of the reasons the Kim Yong-sam side takes the stand that the sooner a candidate is selected, the better. On the other hand, for Kim Tae-chung, his 5 November statement is a liability, and he has a relatively inferior strength within the party. He cannot assert that he has an upper hand in terms of influence among various forces in the opposition camp. It seems that Kim Tae-chung expects that the atmosphere in opposition organizations will noticeably tilt in his favor. The Kim Tae-chung side takes the attitude that there is no need to hurriedly pick a candidate because he needs time to change the current atmosphere. Apart from that, there is another reason he needs more time. He leads the two major forces within the opposition camp. It seems that he finds it necessary to expand and realign his sphere of influence by remaining as a potential candidate instead of bowing out of the race for presidential candidacy.

Comparison With the Spring of 1980

The present rivalry resembles the rivalry that existed in the spring of 1980, although different in some respects. In the spring of 1980, Kim Tae-chung was an opposition leader, whereas Kim Yong-sam was a nonpartisan opposition leader. Now they are the cochairmen of the CPD, and one is an advisor to the RDP and the other is the RDP president. In this respect, their ties are much closer than they were in the spring of 1980.

A typical pattern which reminds us of the rivalry in the spring of 1980 is the popularity race. Regarding his plan to our various parts of the country, Kim

Tae-chung has said: "I intend to express my thanks and give comfort to those who have been concerned about me and those who have suffered for my sake in the past, while trying to collect public views through dialogues and discussions with a selected number of democratic figures." He said he has no intention of delivering a speech to a crowd during his local tour. However, his close aides expect that when he goes down to Kwangju, the whole city will turn out, closing up shops for the day, and there will be human waves. Then it is quite obvious that he will be compelled to deliver a speech before this huge crowd.

It will be his first public address in 7 years since he made his last public appearance. Excluding a brief period in the spring of 1980, he will be returning to political campaigning for the first time in 15 years. In this span of time, his name has often been referred to as a man out of office or the master of Tonggyo-tong. After the 12 February general elections in 1985, his name began to reappear. He has been leading the opposition camp side by side with Kim Yong-sam, both serving as CPD cochairmen. However, the legal restrictions have somewhat obscured his popularity.

In this way, he has long been hidden in a mystic veil. But now that his veil has been cast off for the first time, and public interest in him has really reached its apex. Not only in the southwestern part--where he comes from and where people pin high hopes on him--but everywhere in the country, people are interested in him. In this sense, Kim Tae-chung's forthcoming tour of the country will be a political pilgrimage which is already assured of raising the "Kim tae-chung fever."

It is hard to predict now how one side will counter when the other side sets out to generate a strong tidal wave of popularity. In that event, most probably there will be a counter move. After all, there is the possibility that the rivalry between the two will take the form of a political contest, or a popularity contest. The contest in 1980 may be reenacted.

Once a contest begins, there is little possibility that the result will be so easily decided or that the contest will give momentum to reaching a compromise to end the rivalry.

The same is true with the appraisal of the past records of the two and their current relative strength. Since the Yusin regime, Kim Tae-chung has spent much of his time as an exile, a victim of kidnaping, and in prison and in confinement. He was imprisoned on charges of inciting a rebellion after the 17 May incident [Kwangju uprising], and later he was released and allowed to go to the United States. Since his return home from his 2-year exile, he has continually engaged in what is generally regarded as political activities in his capacity as a CPD cochairman. But, because of his restricted status as a man on probation, he has been unable to join either the NDP or the RDP.

Kim Tae-chung said: "Until 1970, I and President Kim Yong-sam were rivals. But, ever since the Yusin rule, the two of us have consistently cooperated with each other. The world has never seen two rivals cooperate so closely as the two of us do. But I have never been paid for my cooperation." The remark that he has never been paid for his cooperation implies that this time he

intends to receive the payment, and that the other side should pay for it.

Records to Loom Large in Contest

The Kim Yong-sam side could refute this contention. It argues as follows: "Since the 30 May 1979 NDP Democratic convention, the Kim Yong-sam leadership has clashed more fiercely with the Yusin rule, culminating in the 'spring of 1980.'" The spring of 1980 also brought a political springtime to Kim Tae-chung himself, and opened up dazzling prospects for politics in general. As Kim Tae-chung was confined in prison following the 17 May uprising, Kim Yong-sam was confined in his house. While Kim Tae-chung was in exile in the United States, Kim Yong-sam won his own release through a fast. Subsequently he organized the Democratic Alpine Club, the CPD, and the NDP, which emerged as the major opposition party in the 12 February election.

"In the spring of 1986, Kim Tae-chung and NDP President Yi Min-u were against Kim Yong-sam's joining the NDP singly, but Kim Yong-sam managed to join the NDP as permanent adviser. By leading the 10-million signature collection campaign, he opened up a new political momentum for constitutional revision. From the inauguration of the NDP through No Tae-u's 29 June statement, Kim Yong-sam had fought in the forefront of the struggle."

Kim Tae-chung is often portrayed as a man of struggle. Unlike Kim Tae-chung, Kim Yong-sam was never kidnapped by the government or sentenced to death. For this reason, Kim Yong-sam lacks the martyr image that Kim Tae-chung has. Kim Yong-sam gives the impression that he is more practical and more reconciliatory. This is the picture showing the antipodal difference between the images of the two. Is this real?

Kim Tae-chung says: "During the Korean war, I managed to escape to safety a moment before the communists were going to execute me. I almost got killed in an automobile accident during the 1971 election, was on the brink of descending to a watery grave during my kidnapping in 1973, and was sentenced to death soon after 17 May 1980. But his ordeals began after the Yusin rule was established." To be sure, he walked down the road of suffering. However, up to the inauguration of the Yusin rule, he had always opted for moderation and compromise while in the opposition camp. He was driven out to the road of suffering under the Yusin rule. By the words "driven out" we mean that the road of suffering was not his own choice, but it was forced upon him. When martial law was proclaimed in 1972, which was a precursor of the Yusin rule, he was in Japan and became an exile there, deciding not to return home. Koreans and foreigners in Japan were the only ones he dealt with in his political activities there. The Yusin authorities kidnaped him from Japan to Korea and put him in prison. Since then, he has been in and out of the prison.

Kim Yong-sam has a more impressive record of struggle. He has politically matured through action and struggle. For instance, when martial law was proclaimed heralding the advent of the Yusin rule that would follow, Kim Yong-sam was in the United States, and the U.S. authorities offered an opportunity to exile in the United States for the time being, but he returned home. Under the Yusin rule, he was in charge of the NDP as president twice and chose the

road of confrontation instead of compromise. At the 30 May 1979 NDP convention, he confronted Yi Chol-sung and Yi's allies, but that confrontation was actually one between Kim Yong-sam and the Yusin establishment itself. Subsequently, the struggle launched by the Kim Yong-sam leadership was connected to the 16 October incident.

His challenge in 1970 for the nomination of a presidential candidate, which opened the way for the opposition party to leapfrog a generation in its development; the intraparty power struggles in 1974 and 1979, in which, leading only three or four National Assembly members on his side, he fought head-on against the proruling party alliance within the party; the anti-Yusin movement; the formation of the Democratic Alpine Club and subsequently of the CPD, around which the democratic forces have been rallied--these are the example of the kinds of actions and struggles which he alone can execute.

In the period from 1980 through 1987, the two took similar courses to those they had taken under the Yusin rule. At the time of the 17 May uprising, two of the new protagonists in the political spring of 1980 were sent to prison, but Kim Yong-sam alone was under confinement in his house. First, Kim Chong-pil was released, and 1 year later, Kim Yong-sam was set free from confinement. One year later, he was again placed under confinement on charges of "illegal activities" aimed at expanding the local network of the Democratic Alpine Club and organizing people whose political activities were banned.

Views of One on the Frontline and the Other on the Second Line of Politics

Soon afterward, Kim Tae-chung was released from prison and left for the United States, but Kim Yong-sam was still under confinement in his house. Kim Yong-sam went on a hunger strike in May 1983, triggering a democratic movement by the opposition camp. In the United States, Kim Tae-chung gave support and encouragement to Kim Yong-sam's hunger strike, and that marked a beginning of their coalition. That is also the origin of the CPD, which was organized through the coalition of the two Kims.

From the list of the third batch of people who were allowed to resume political activities were lifted, the two Kims and 10 of their staunch followers were excluded. Under this circumstances, Kim Yong-sam participated in the 12 February general elections and paved the way for the NDP's victory in coalition with other forces of the opposition camp. Kim Tae-chung, deciding to move his arena of activity from the United States to Korea, returned home on the eve of the election day. At that time, the NDP fever had reached its zenith.

The opposition movement for constitutional revision originates in the 12 February general election. It was last spring, when Kim Yong-sam became a permanent adviser to the NDP, that the NDP launched a 10-million signature collection campaign for constitutional revision as a movement outside the National Assembly, and began confronting the government head-on.

The inauguration of the RDP was the rationale the 13 April measure terminating negotiations on constitutional revision, but it was also the origin of the June struggle. The two Kims joined forces in inaugurating the RDP. But

because Kim Tae-chung was under confinement in his house, Kim Yong-sam alone had to stand in the forefront of the struggle. These are the patterns of political courses taken by the two Kims in the past several years: Kim Tae-chung has been forced to remain on the sideline of the struggle, while Kim Yong-sam alone has led the struggle in the van.

Given this background, after all, the real race may start now to decide who is superior, or who between the two is ahead of the other. There is the possibility that the race between the two will gradually cause cracks in various fields. Up to now, the two have always acted as one in the struggle.

This is the time to combine struggle with compromise. There is some difference between the two in their perceptions of reality. It is not still certain whether this difference is a fundamental one or a difference stemming from the difference in their posts, namely a difference between the party president and a CPD chairman, or between the party president and the adviser.

No Tae-u's 29 June statement is still nothing more than a declaration. Out of the package of eight measures promised, only the promise to grant amnesty and release of the detained has been somehow fulfilled, the rest of the measures yet to be carried out. The key measures outlined in the statement, such as the revision of the constitution to allow direct presidential elections and amendments to the presidential election law, are the tasks which must be undertaken jointly by the ruling and opposition parties. If the half of the responsibility for fulfilling these tasks rests with DJP Acting President No, the other half of the responsibility falls on RDP President Kim Yong-sam. President Kim plans to negotiate on the key measures outlined in the No Tae-u statement, specifically the measures with regard to the constitution, the presidential election law, and freedom of press, even if he may find the settlement of the rest of the package not fully satisfactory to him.

It seems that Kim Yong-sam is directing more attention to holding fair elections under a new constitution and a new election law and to ascertain the government's determination to carry out democratization, which will insure a transfer of political power, than to the revision of the constitution and the election law.

On the question of forming an interim pan-national cabinet, the two share the same basic view, but with different degrees of intensity. Kim Tae-chung insisted that the proposed interim government should take practical democratization measures, such as the investigation of the Kwangju incident. Kim Yong-sam, while agreeing to this stand as a matter of principle, suggested that a consensus be reached as to whether this was the time to hold another nationwide public rally to press for an interim cabinet, in case the proposal for such a cabinet is rejected. As a compromise, the two Kims came up with a recommendation on the composition of the proposed interim government.

It appears that Kim Yong-sam is inclined to the view that an interim government by nature will not be able to do much to implement the process of democratization. On the other hand, Kim Tae-chung intends to spur on the government, an interim government included, for more democratic measures. Hidden behind this difference, there may be a difference between their

sentiments against powers that be, the one having a strong, and the other a relatively milder, rejection sentiment, at a time when a transfer of political power is around the corner. At any rate, Kim Tae-chung's demand is a liability on Kim Yong-sam in conducting practical politics which he has to lead.

Competition, or a One-Sided Concession

The two Kims' speeches at the memorial services for Yi Han-yol the martyr, sponsored by the National Campaign Headquarters in the auditorium of Hungsadan was also suggestive of the difference which existed between them. On that occasion, Kim Yong-sam strongly criticized the DJP government for showing no deep repentance, whereas Kim Tae-chung sounded an alarm in connection with the stance the opposition camp should maintain toward the ruling party. He declared that "even if I have to go to jail 10 times, I will never compromise with this regime."

On the funeral day for Yi Han-yol, the streets were overflowing with angry and feverish human waves, and the shouts of the crowd echoed through the streets. Kim Tae-chung spoke more directly in consonance with the cries of this multitude. If Kim Yong-sam spoke for the RDP, Kim Tae-chung's voice was more on the same wavelength with the voice of the outside opposition forces. If the two Kims show their difference of opinion in a race for candidacy, going beyond the difference resulting from their positions, then it may cast a shadow over politics.

Beside this, the doors to competition are wide open. The 9 July amnesty and restoration of civil rights gave rise to the problem of reorganizing the RDP. Of the people who have been pardoned or have their rights reinstated, those affiliated with the tonggyo-tong group [Kim Tae-chung faction] far outnumber those affiliated with the Sangdo-tong group [Kim Yong-sam faction]. It is now possible that the two factions will clash over the question of how to treat them in a way consistent with the ordeals they have gone through. The case of Yi Ki-taek, who is now an independent, recently leaned toward the Kim Tae-chung faction, which has indicated an intention to let him join the RDP. On the other hand, the Kim Yong-sam faction has shown a negative attitude toward him because of his opportunist color, saying that he bolted the NKDP while denouncing the inauguration of the RDP. This also gives a glimpse of the rivalry between the two factions.

The question of admitting outside opposition forces into the then Democratic Party--a point of contention between the two in the spring of 1980--was postponed until after the selection of a presidential candidate, giving the impression that they had succeeded in tiding over this difficult issue. However, with the coalition between the RDP and the outside opposition forces intensifying, the two Kims are vying with each other for the patronage of the outside opposition forces, each trying to outperform the other by talking tougher. By the same token, it is possible that their addresses to the general public will provide another forum of contest for them.

Nevertheless, there are more reasons and needs for refraining from rivalry. The situation does not permit them to prolong their competition. It is

obvious that by the time a constitutional amendment allowing indirect elections for president is given a finishing touch, or thereabouts, they will encounter a strong public demand that they diffuse their rivalry.

There are three ways to end their rivalry--a direct settlement between the two, a mediation by a third party, and voting at a RDP presidential nomination convention. Kim Tae-chung does not rule out the possibility of settlement by vote. Recalling that the opposition has never failed to put up a single candidate for the presidency through a compromise or by vote in the past 30 years, he said he is not thinking of any special plan to exclude anything particular from efforts for a compromise.

On the contrary, Kim Yong-sam has reaffirmed the promise he has repeatedly made to the public that there will be no confrontation by vote. There is practically no possibility that he will renege on his promise. As a matter of fact, if he chooses to compete by vote, he would encounter much more difficult problems as he did in the spring of 1980.

In the spring of 1980, Kim Yong-sam as the president of the opposition party was in a superior position within the party. That is why, in order to secure the balance of power within the party, Kim Tae-chung set the unconditional admission of outside opposition figures into the NDP as a prerequisite for his joining the NDP. However, his proposal fell through and he did not join the party. If the choice of a presidential candidate is to be made by vote, it is possible that a similar situation will develop, and in this event, there is the danger that it will shake the solidarity between the RDP and the National Campaign Headquarters.

This danger, among other reasons, seems to be behind Kim Yong-sam's pledge that he will not compete for presidential candidacy by vote, as well as his insistence that the admission of outside opposition figures into his party be postponed until after the presidential election and but before the National Assembly election. Needless to say, outside opposition figures are not in a hurry to join the RDP is because, unlike in the spring of 1980, they are already affiliated with either Kim Tae-chung or Kim Yong-sam, and because in their judgment, there is a better chance than ever before for realizing a transfer of political power....

History Gives Better Marks to Those Who Concede

Mediation through a third party is a possible way of producing a concession without a contest, but its chances are very slim. First of all, it is hard to expect a third group within the party to take upon itself the mediatory role and find anyone capable of mediation. Mediation by leaders of outside forces is possible, but as of this moment, it is hard to predict who will be the mediators. It is rather possible that one of the two will choose to make a concession.

Concession is an essential ingredient for political fame. Both of them said they want to be remembered as a symbol of democracy. Most probably, the man who make a concession, not the man who runs for the presidency, will be long

remembered in history, in the words of a foreigner, as a man who made a noble contribution to democracy.

Another reason for the concession is for the sake of the future. In case of concession through mediation, the man who will become the first president under the new constitution can promise to serve only one term, even if the new constitution allows two consecutive terms. In this event, the other man who made the concession will not necessarily come into power despite the promise of the would-be president not to serve two consecutive terms. He can come into power only when the people vote him into the office of the presidency. Naturally, the public appraisal of him as the man who made the great decision will compel the first president to honor his pledge not to serve two consecutive terms, and will also assure him of an advantage in the following election.

In the final analysis, the way to end the rival between the two Kims is narrowed down to two alternatives, a mediation through a third party and a settlement by the two. The standard for choosing one of the two alternatives is: Of the two, who will do better in realizing a transfer of political power.

The Kim Tae-chung side contends that after all, Kim Tae-chung, who has been more subjected to oppression than anybody else, will be able to heed the voices of the students and the opposition activist camp which are expected to rise higher and higher. It also contends that Kim Tae-chung is the only person who can settle the controversy over the Kwangju uprising, the most difficult and thorny issue on the road to democracy. It also says that Kim Tae-chung is too old to wait--he is 64, 4 years senior to Kim Yong-sam. It also cites the feverish popular support for him and his career torn by more ordeals than Kim Yong-sam's.

However, there is the most difficult and crucial obstacle to him that has hung around him ever since 1980. That is the existence of the groups which do not trust him and vehemently reject him. There are three such groups, all of which have been the central prop of society up to now. The public perception that the rejection on the part of the military is the strongest among the three has been pressing him like a vise. The foreign press and foreign diplomats have often raised questions about this issue. They even pointed out this to No Tae-u: "One of the questions in the hearts of most of Koreans is that in case the opposition party, particularly Kim Tae-chung, comes into power, whether or not the military will still support the package concerning constitutional revision offered by Chairman No."

Acting DJP President No Tae-u says that the ROK armed forces belong to the Korean people and will accept whatever decision the people make. Kim Tae-chung, for his part, reassuring his faith in and respect for the military, says that problem ceases to exist.

Nevertheless, foreign dispatches, quoting U.S. Government authorities or the U.S. diplomatic mission in Korea, said that in view of the existence of the groups which are strongly against Kim Tae-chung, it will be a dangerous adventure for him to bid for power. Former U.S. Ambassador Glysteen unhesitatingly offered this view: "Some segment of the military has a strong

suspicion about Kim Tae-chung. If he runs for the presidential election and gets elected, it is possible that serious complications will arise in reality, due to his bad relations with the military."

It is a painful weakness of Kim Tae-chung that if he becomes the opposition candidate to compete against DJP Acting President No Tae-u, the candidate of the ruling party, it is bound to inject regional sentiments into the election, a fact regarded as an irksome side effect of an election. In the past direct presidential elections, regional confrontation has always benefited the party in power. In the 1967 election, which was held at a time when President Pak's popularity was at its peak whereas his contender, Yun Po-son's popularity was far below the level 4 years before, Yun led President Pak in the number of votes polled except in North and South Kyongsang Provinces. In the 1971 election, in which Kim Tae-chung pitted himself against incumbent President Pak under the disadvantageous condition following the revision of the constitution to allow a third term for the president, Kim Tae-chung outpolled his opponent by a sizable margin, except in North and South Kyongsang Provinces. But after all, he was defeated by a margin of 900,000 votes due to the overwhelming number of votes President Pak garnered in these two southern provinces.

It is still premature to predict how the opposition camp will settle the candidacy issue. However, in view of the fact that in all respects, one is as good as the other, and that both hold the same possibilities, a more secure transfer of political power will be the most important consideration in making a choice between the two. Exactly on the basis of this standard, the direction of choice will be determined in a month or two, depending on the opposition camp's perception of reality and the political current.

Kim Chong-pil, one of the trio who were in the forefront of politics during the 1980 political springtime in Seoul, has not yet appeared in the forefront of politics. The former leading politicians during the days of President Pak who belong to a group known as the National Revitalization Society [NRS], have long hoped for his political comeback. On 1 July, on the heels of No Tae-u's 29 June statement, NRS leaders decided to urge JP [Kim Chong-pil] to reenter the political scene. Those leaders include O Chi-song, Ku Chae-chun, Kim Chon-sik, and Yi Pyong-hui, in addition to NRS Chairman Chon Ye-yong. What they hope for is the securing of a NRS bridgehead in the National Assembly. A considerable number of NRS members, including these leaders, think that they have to run in the next National Assembly election, and that for this purpose, they need a party led by Kim Chong-pil. Most probably, Kim Chong-pil himself recognizes this necessity. Nevertheless he still keeps his silence, which may continue for a while.

Kim Chong-pil Waiting for Spring

At a reception in the spring of 1986, given by the NRS upon his return from the United States after a brief stay, Kim Chong-pil said: "Today I ponder once again how to repay my moral and political debt to the nation, in the rest of my life." This statement, taken to mean as a signal for his political comeback, drew bitter criticisms rather than sympathy. This is indicative of his political status.

That is why he did not resume political activities, and nor did he say anything further.

However, he did not suspend his activities outright. He has provided himself with quiet and inconspicuous occasions, such as invitations from churches, occasions to deliver speeches, and personal contacts. He has toured the country, probably two or three times, for these meetings over the past 2 years.

Last winter, when politics was on the edge of a cliff, he said, "our present situation may become

more difficult following the Olympics." He seemed to be preparing himself for his course of action, looking toward 1989. Even after the 13 April presidential decision, he continued his speech meetings in Taegu, Suwon, Taejon, and other areas, without making any gesture indicating he would resume his political activities. When No Tae-u's 29 June statement was out, he welcomed the move calling it a "good thing," and made no further comment except to say that he would watch what will happen in the days ahead. At that moment, probably he did not take the pledges contained in the 29 June statement as pointing to a bright future but was rather conscious of uneasy factors which indicate that a steep, tortuous path still lies ahead. In the days of President Pak, Kim Chong-pil learned, deep in his mind, how to be patient and how to wait. Even so, he still gives the impression that he is vacillating and calculating too much.

Although he has remained on the second front of politics in the past 7 years, he is prepared to launch into politics at any time. The NRS can switch its entity into a political organization right away, and he can revive his old formidable administrative apparatus. That is not all. Apart from his old political machinery, he has his personal organization. In case he decides to run for election, there is more than one person in each area across the country who is willing to contribute money to help him. That is why some people think that he still has a possibility, and accordingly, attention is directed to the question of whether or not he will run for the presidency.

According to his close aides, he will not run for the presidency this time. They say, "Kim Chong-pil played no role in bringing about the current changes. He will not jump into an arena which has been prepared by others and for which he himself did nothing."

This judgment on the part of his close aides was partly prompted by his reaction to the news that on 1 July the NRS leaders decided to urge him to resume his political activities. Kim Chong-pil was reportedly unhappy to hear the news, saying "even they cannot read my mind."

Rugged Path to Direct Election for President

He was right when he chose not to run for the presidency. However, it is a general consensus that he will not remain as a detached spectator, simply looking on the election.

He has a strong obsession to change the public opinion of President Pak and to rehabilitate his own name. He says: "It is not that I am timid or I lack courage. I know I can be red-hot, and I wish I could glow incandescent." He is 61, and his age is a factor which presses him to make up his mind soon.

He still has many people who offer him advice; he has political perspicacity; his friends in and out of the government in the United States and his friends in Japanese political circles are watching him. Recently he was compelled to meet a certain influential person who sought his advice.

He has his own view of the future and of the three potential presidential contenders. The outcome of the election will have an impact on his political future.

Perhaps, he will return to politics when the presidential race is about to begin. According to some observers, thinking about whom he will help, or whether he will be neutral, depend on the choice the opposition party makes. Depending on the substance of this choice, or on some new developments, he may be induced to enter the race.

To be sure, at this moment, he is not thinking of running for the presidential election. However, there is speculation that by the time the presidential race begins, he is expected to convert his support organization into a political party so that he can secure a bridgehead in the National Assembly for his forces through the coming National Assembly election. For this reason, his moves will have some effect on the presidential election.

Rough indeed is the road to the presidential system of government with direct elections for president. First of all, opinions differ in the interpretation of the decision to introduce a direct presidential election system. The ruling party hails it as a bold decision, whereas the opposition says it is a belated concession. Some even say it is a trophy the opposition has won through struggle. Who will have the political initiative depends on how this decision is interpreted. The fact that the contentions of both sides have some grain of truth are partly responsible for the befuddled political situation.

Confusion is a liability for both the ruling and opposition parties. If the direct presidential election system is what the ruling party has unwillingly agreed to, then the opposition camp, which has long suffered to bring about this system, should be more prudent about its implementation because a larger share of responsibility for its realization falls on the shoulder of the opposition camp.

The acute rivalry for presidential candidacy within the opposition camp could bring, as foreign newspapers say, a windfall victory to the ruling party. The contest may also tempt someone to take action, but it will probably make the political weather more turbulent.

It naturally requires a heavy burden of responsibility to introduce a direct presidential election system for the first time in 16 years, for it is coming after such a long interval during which the nation has had to go through many sacrifices and vicissitudes. There may be some faltering, but it is hoped that now that initial forward steps have been taken, the journey will continue without turning back.

SUGGESTION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION BY BAR ASSOCIATION

41070241 Seoul WOLGAN KYONGHYANG in Korean Aug 87 pp 86-90

[Article by Kim Tong-chong, vice president of the Korean Bar Association: "Constitutional Revision As It Ought To Be: Thoughts Based on Draft Proposal By the Korea Bar Association"]

[Text] That we can now freely discuss our views regarding constitutional reform without fear of recrimination--this fact alone is enough to fill a corner of our heart with a sense of satisfaction. In free, democratic nations of modern times, it is simply a matter of course that a constitution, as the basic law of a nation, must enable the people the sovereign to choose, in accordance with their free will and through democratic procedure and method, the form of power structure and the formula for the management of state affairs while ensuring the basic rights of the people to the maximum extent possible; yet, there was in our past a period of time--a dark age--during which it was considered a taboo to discuss constitutional reform, especially one suggesting a change to the power structure--this is an experience which we must not forget. So that we may prevent the history from repeating itself, we must this time around--just once--concentrate our maximum efforts to produce the kind of constitution that would come as close to our ideal as possible. It is with this in mind that I shall summarize the views of the Korean Bar Association based primarily on the constitutional revision proposal put forth last year by the association.

All Forms of Human-Rights Violations Must Be Eliminated

1. In the general provisions, adherence to political neutrality by all public officials should be elevated to a constitutional obligation, and the responsibility of the Armed Forces should be limited to the defense of the country, excluding any role in the preservation of national security so as to block all political meddlings by the military under the pretext of national security.
2. In the area of basic human rights, the very practice of punishing someone for reasons of public security should be abolished in the interest of better physical freedom which is the basis for the liberty and rights of the people, and all forms of mental and physical

infringement, not to mention tortures, by public officials must be prohibited and dealt with by severe punishments when they occur.

The arrest-warrant system should be strengthened to limit emergency arrests to the flagrant delictor within 24 hours of the act. Also, a system for advance review of the warrant should be introduced and the conditions for the issuance of a warrant tightened so that a judge is required to state clearly in the warrant the reason for the charge of crime based on credible evidence and a warrant cannot be issued without a hearing, when such a hearing is requested, that gives the defendant an opportunity to defend himself. The requisite conditions for the execution of a warrant should be newly established so that no one can be served a warrant without first being notified of the reason and assured of his right to seek the assistance of an attorney.

When an arrest is made, the person arrested shall have the guaranteed right to request the court to review the propriety of the arrest. A system for requesting a relief order should be newly instituted whereby a person, whose physical freedom has been restricted or violated in whatever form--be it a case of simply taken to a police station or being subjected to an informal confinement, and arrest, or a detention--without a warrant issued by a judge, can request a judge to issue a relief order and can receive such relief within 48 hours. The right of bail shall be made an express provision of law.

For the protection of the human rights of the criminally accused, the principle centered on public trials should be reinforced: no one shall be punished without such evidence based on direct statements made at the court or otherwise established through investigations; the efficacy of hearsay evidence and documentary evidence shall be limited. The principle of mandatory defense counsel should be adopted and the accused shall be guaranteed of the right for unlimited confidential meetings and communications with his counsel. The evidential function of a confession shall be severely restricted: it shall be nullified even at a slight suspicion that the confession was caused by such methods as torture, assault, or threat. Any evidence collected or prepared by unlawful means shall be considered null and void.

Additionally, trial of civilians by a military tribunal should be restricted to the duration of martial law. Not only the licensing and censorship (either before or after the fact) of the press, the publication, and the radio and television broadcast but also the license system for assembly and association should be outlawed. A new system shall be instituted whereby any expropriation and use of and other restrictions placed on private properties for public service shall be fully compensated for in advance.

In order to further improve the security of the workers' right to live, a system should be introduced that will provide the workers the right to participate in management in addition to the three rights of labor. As

for the minimum voting age for election of public officials, it should appropriately be lowered to 18 in line with the trend of the times.

3. With regard to the composition of the National Assembly and the method of electing members of the Assembly, the members should be elected from geographical electoral districts at the ratio of one member to each 200,000 populace with an extra member added for each fraction of populace exceeding 100,000; the National Assembly should be composed solely of the members elected from geographical electoral districts--the proportional representation system, which has failed to live up to its intrinsic merit, should best be abolished.

The existing Constitution stipulates that when a president requests the National Assembly to reconsider a legislative bill, the enactment of such a bill requires the presence of more than half of the Assembly members on the role and the approval by the majority of two-thirds or more of those present. This stipulation seems to impose undue restrictions on the legislative right of the Assembly; more appropriate would be to soften the stipulation to allow the enactment of such a bill by a majority of the Assembly members on the role.

Further, in addition to the right to investigate government affairs which the National Assembly already has, the right to inspect the administration should also be granted to the Assembly so that not only can runaway actions by the executive branch be prevented but also the Assembly's oversight function over the administration be enhanced. In terms of the quorum for making motions, I believe it is desirable to enable the National Assembly to call itself into a special session, to move for a vote on dismissal of the prime minister and members of the cabinet, and to move for the initiation of impeachment proceedings when a quarter or more of its members on the role so demands or desires.

A 3-Year Postretirement Waiting Period Should Be Imposed on Military Personnel Wanting to Run for President

4. On the question of the form of government, our country's adoption of the presidential system goes back to the days when two political parties were a state of confrontation. Fortunately the DJP, too, has accepted the presidential system; thus, there is, one might say, grand unity on this question. Not that the parliamentary system is bad--it has its merits and demerits as does the other system, it is undeniable that the presidential system is more appropriate for the realities of our country. Nevertheless, given the kind of experience we have had with constitutional government, it would behoove us to give this matter a careful consideration in order to prevent political power from turning into dictatorship and those in power from attempting to prolong their regime--for this, we would need appropriate stipulations included in our constitution regarding such questions as the distribution of power.

From this standpoint, the method of electing a president should be by a general, equal, direct, and secret ballot of the people with the candidate polling majority of valid votes to be the winner. If there is no majority winner, the proper course would be for the National Assembly to vote on the two candidates who have scored the highest and next-to-the-highest number of votes to determine the winner.

In connection with the eligibility for presidential election, there is one thing that warrants special emphasis: in view of the bitter experience we have had in the history of our constitutional government, it is desirable to prevent a military man from becoming a president immediately upon leaving active service by imposing restrictions stipulating that no military man can become a president unless 3 years have elapsed since his retirement from active service. The length of presidential tenure is a matter deserving of careful consideration together with the question of whether or not a president should be allowed to run for reelection. Nonetheless, from the standpoint of preventing prolongation of one-man rule and of alleviating the fears that reelection candidacy by a sitting president could fundamentally destroy the election itself due to likely intervention by his regime in power, one 6-year term is deemed appropriate for the presidential tenure.

In order to curtail undue expansion of the presidential power, the status of the cabinet council should be elevated from a consultative organ dealing with matters for consideration to a deliberate organ dealing with matters for decision. The system that allows a president to make an important policy decision and put it to a national referendum, on the face of it, seems like the epitome of popular democracy, but it is not as rewarding as it purports to be; therefore, it is best that the national referendum system be abolished.

With regard to the emergency power and proclamation of martial law, the prerequisite conditions and limits for invoking such measures should be clearly defined to prevent their abuse, and the National Assembly's right to review such measures should be strengthened.

As long as the presidential system is going to be the form of our government, it is only proper that the principle of separation of powers be strictly adhered to. Thus, it is to be desired that the presidential right to dissolve the National Assembly be not recognized, that the National Assembly be not empowered to vote for en masse dismissal of prime minister and his cabinet (voting for the dismissal of individual members of the cabinet is not to be affected), and that prime minister and members of the cabinet be proscribed from concurrently holding seats in the National Assembly. Of particular note are the provisions of the current Constitution pertaining to the Government Affairs Advisory Council, the National Security Council, and the Peaceful Reunification Policy Advisory Council, all of which are nothing more than presidential advisory organs; treating these organs as

constitutional bodies is an affront to the dignity of the basic law; therefore, the provisions pertaining to these organs should be deleted from the Constitution.

5. The dual composition of the Supreme Court, made up of the justices and judicial officers as prescribed in the current Constitution, should be changed to a unitary composition by the justices only. The number of the Supreme Court justices should be decided by law: there should be provisions made whereby the number of justices may be increased or decreased, depending on the case load of the Supreme Court, simply by amending the law--such provisions will make it possible to solve the problem of increased case load for the Supreme Court when the special law designed to expedite the processing of litigations is either abrogated or changed.

Chief justice of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the president, based on the recommendation of the Judicial Officers Recommendation Board, with the consent of the National Assembly; associate justices of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the president based on the recommendations of the same board. By so doing, it is hoped that meddling in the makeup of the Supreme Court by the executive branch be eliminated and independence of the judicature be materially ensured.

Substantial Measures to Uphold Judicial Power

The Judicial Officers Recommendation Board, which should be newly instituted, shall be composed of chief justice and all associate justices of the Supreme Court, an equal number of lawyers nominated by the Korean Bar Association, and attorney general. Also, a council of Supreme Court justices should be newly instituted as a standing organ, empowered to make decisions on appointments and assignments of judicial officers in general and other matters of judicial administration so as to prevent arbitrary decisions by the chief justice regarding such matters, to ensure fairness of personnel actions, and to guarantee the independence of personnel administration within the judicial branch.

With respect to the tenures of judicial officers, the tenure of chief justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court should be for 6 years with no reappointment to be allowed so as to prevent evil effects arising from reappointments. For other judicial officers in general, a mandatory retirement system should be enforced but the 10-year tenure with reappointment provisions should be retained. By so doing, incompetent judicial officers should be weeded out systematically.

The existing Constitutional Committee system should be abolished with the authority to review constitutional violations, now part of the committee's functions, be transferred to the Supreme Court, making the Supreme Court the final authorities to review and determine the constitutionality of laws, decrees, regulations and legal actions. Under this authority, the court may examine the constitutionality, or

lack thereof, of laws and other matters, not only when there are questions raised that have precedent-setting implications for the trial of specific cases but even when no such precedent-setting implications are involved. In other words, a constitutional appeal system should be instituted whereby the people may petition the court to determine the constitutionality of a specific law, decree, or regulation; the Supreme Court shall have the final review authority on all such cases. Administrative judgments should be treated as judgments of the first instance in the process of trial.

In order to make the independence of the judicature a reality and as means to reinforce the autonomy of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court should be empowered to submit directly to the National Assembly all legislative proposals having to do with the matters of organization, personnel, and management of the court, thereby ensuring the independence of the court operation. Important, too, is to ensure the budgetary autonomy of the judiciary by letting the Supreme Court prepare the budget for all judicial operations under its jurisdiction and submit it to the government to be forwarded without changes, together with the administration's budget, to the National Assembly.

For all trials, due reasons must be made clear in advance so as to enhance the credibility of justice and to restore the eclipsed integrity and credibility of the court resulting from the past practice of not clarifying the reasons for trials. The right of appeal is part of the people's basic right to demand a trial and it shall not be circumscribed; especially, restrictions on the grounds of appealing important final decrees should be removed.

As for special courts, only courts martial for the purpose of military trial should be recognized; any other kind of special courts for whatever reasons should best be prohibited.

All the People Must Become the Watchman

6. Keeping in mind that progress in local self-government is the foundation for the development of democratic government, not only members of local legislatures but also heads of local autonomous entities and other local officials specified under the law, such as superintendents of educational affairs and members of local board of education, should be chosen by local residents through direct elections.

7. Free economy shall be the basis for the national economic order but there should be room for such regulations and controls that are necessary for the realization of social justice and for the development of balanced national economy capable of satisfying the basic demands of national life. Especially more emphasis should be placed on provisions for the protection of the agriculture, the fisheries, and the small business--the sectors that have been neglected and left behind during the process of industrialization--as well as the consumer.

8. Only the National Assembly shall be entrusted with the right to propose constitutional amendment as well as the power to vote on such amendment. The presidential authority to propose constitutional amendment and the practice of putting the proposed amendment to a national referendum should best be abolished. For we have learned a lesson, based on the experience in the history of our constitutional government, that the presidential authority to propose constitutional amendment and the national referendum system have been abused by those in power in their pursuit of dictatorship.

9. I have attempted above to give an overview concerning our Constitution in its totality. It seems to me that if there is a lesson to be learned from our 40-year experience with constitutional government, it lies not so much in the wording of the provisions of the Constitution but more in the realization that individual citizens--each one of them--must not neglect his role as the guardian of the Constitution and as the watchman of constitutional government.

Our Constitution has had numerous amendments, but in all cases it was not unsound theory that had led to heart-wrenching tragedies--the interruptions of our constitutional government. Now that we know for sure that those in power are inherently disposed to abusing the power at all time, in our handling of the historic amendment of the Constitution this time around, it would behoove us to concentrate our efforts to devising a minimum necessary mechanism that will prevent any more interruptions of our constitutional government--ever again. To be specific, we must have a mechanism with which to prevent the kind of improper elections a la the "15 March" example; we must also have the means to forever prevent the machinery or system that chokes free flow of speech.

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CHANGING STUDENT MOVEMENTS ANALYZED

41070230 Seoul SIN TONG-A in Korean Jun 87 pp 477-488

[Article by free lance writer Ch'oe Son-u: "Student Movement Undergoes Changes"]

[Text] Is It a Temporary Retreat?

During the first part of 1987, college campuses have generally maintained a quiet posture. Although large-scale demonstrations were staged at Pusan University and Kyongbuk University in April, and at the Ansan Campus of Hanyang University and Choson University in early May, all of them were involved with inter-campus problems. They were not to be characterized as so-called political struggles. Their staging, too, has become moderate compared to previous years.

This state of affairs is contrary to the general expectations (including those of the government and the government party) that the demonstrations on and off campuses, including the struggle for constitutional amendment, would be further intensified as the negotiations for constitutional amendment entered the final stages. Moreover, one may say that it is entirely different from the state of affairs where at the beginning of 1986, even before the new school term began, joint demonstrations were staged and an intensive anti-U.S. struggle was launched leading the whole movement.

In the case of last year, despite the deadlocked political situation due to the ultra-hard line policy (absolutely holding fast to the safeguarding of the constitution and absolutely rejecting any discussion of constitutional amendment) of the government and the government party in connection with the issue of constitutional amendment, students at 15 universities, including Seoul National University, forced "an inaugural rally to organize the Headquarters of the Struggle Committee for the Abolition of the Fascist Constitution and Signature Campaign for Constitutional Amendment" (189 were arrested) on 4 February. They thus began the opening round of the political offensive against the government. And, at Seoul National University, as soon as the general assembly of students was organized after the new school term began, various "struggle committees" were organized under its control. They launched an intensive anti-U.S. struggle [under the banners of] "anti-war, anti-nuclear, Yankee go home," "immediate withdrawal of nuclear bases on the

Korean Peninsula," and "desperate rejection of the Yankee mercenary education and front line recruitment."

In view of these experiences and with a view to the objective situation where, entering 1987, the government and the government party looked at the constitutional amendment issue from a negative stance and the political situation stiffened further when a new stand to safeguard the constitution was clearly revealed through the so-called "13 April Measure." In view of this the current atmosphere on the university campuses looks rather strange.

Needless to say, the number of student meetings and demonstrations or the number of big wall posters on campuses have not decreased greatly. Even when only the announcements of the Ministry of Education are reviewed, as of the end of April this year, in a 2 month period, a total of 451 meetings and demonstrations were launched in 73 universities throughout the country. However, the state of things has greatly changed: political and indicative slogans, including "drive out U.S. imperialism" and "desperate rejection of the Yankee mercenary education and frontline recruitment," have mostly disappeared in those slogans put up in campus meetings and demonstrations or in big wall posters on campuses; and, moreover, popular songs are being heard at students' mass meetings.

Moreover, the election process at the general assembly of students held in March and April was comparatively smooth and quiet. Departing from the trend of previous years where the process of organizing the general assembly of students used to be regarded and utilized as a place for political education and propaganda for new students, the understanding of the process changed to the effect that it is a campus cultural event which many students can attend. In the campaigns of candidates, too, political complexion has disappeared; and the democratization of campus and the welfare of students have emerged as major issues.

What is the background of such a new state of things of the changing student movement and what is the cause of this change?

In order to correctly understand the state of change in the student movement in early 1987, it is necessary to concretely review first the process of organization of general assemblies of students implemented in universities in March and April. The reason for this is that, in view of experience learned so far, concrete guidelines governing the direction of student movement in the first half of the year were set forth in the process of organization of the general assembly of students that was implemented at the beginning of the school term. This article will review only the cases of Seoul National University, Yonsei University, and Koryo University.

Changed Process of Organization of General Assembly of Students

Let us review first the process of organization of the general assembly of students at Seoul National University, where the organization of the meeting was considerably delayed (8 April) due to the fact that opinions varied among students regarding the status, roles, and organization procedures. The concrete process was as follows:

Varied opinions on the status, roles, and organization processes of the general assembly of students came to surface when "a rally for the implementation of the Preparation Committee for Organization of the General Assembly of Students" was convened on 4 March by the so-called "Preparation Committee for Organization of the General Assembly of Students" (called PCOG hereafter) which was made public simultaneously with a statement called "inauguration of the Preparation Committee for Organization of the General Assembly of Students" at the beginning of the school term.

At the rally held on that day, the PCOG evaluated "the 3 March National Peace March for Elimination of Tortures" (called 3.3 GM hereafter) as "an entity representing reactionary bourgeois posture and the opportunistic stand of liberal bourgeoisie." Emphasizing that "it is a duty of the students assembly to arm the masses of students with the correct ideology of popular masses," the PCOG passed resolutions for "revolutionary democratic struggle" and "building up strong and tough students."

However, regarding such a movement by the PCOG, other groups criticized that "the vanguard-oriented construction of a student assembly by those who think first of issues represents a petty-heroism-oriented revolutionary stand designed to objectivise the masses." They were not going to recognize the existing PCOG, insisting on a method of: "organizing student assemblies of departments and colleges in which the principle of collecting and reviewing democratic views of fellow students and of unifying actions may be implemented; organizing a PCOG with representatives of those student assemblies; and organizing the general assembly of students."

While suffering from labor pains due to such varied opinions, each college elected representatives of its departments and organized "a Preparation Committee for Organizing College Students Assembly" (called PCOC hereafter).

Thus they carried out the work of organizing college students assemblies apart from the existing PCOG.

Almost all colleges organized students assemblies of their own by the latter part of March. In the actual election process at the final stage of the organization, however, the existing PCOG also took part in that. Thus candidates of some groups of varied views came to compete with one another. In this way, as a result, differences of opinions between the two groups were eliminated through direct votes of students in colleges, a process of proving the mass-oriented righteousness of one side.

On [the basis of] such a viewpoint, one may say that the result of competitive election of chairmen of college student assemblies carries a considerable significance. Campaign pledges made by those successful candidates for chairmen were as follows in a brief review:

Humanities College: "Liquidation of the colonial structure of U.S. imperialism," "Liquidation of lookers-on attitude," and "Vitalization of culture in the Humanities College."

Social College: "Organizational guarantee for activities of the student assembly," "Vitalization of circles in departments and colleges," and "Creation of Cultural Spaces."

Teachers College: "Down with the military fascists," and "Encourage cultural activities."

Law College: "Launch a campus paper of Democratic Law College," and "Organize a council of professors and students."

Pharmaceutival College: "Organize a community of pharmaceutical college," and "Hold discussion meetings on events of the day."

An analysis made of the result of students ballot on the basis of campaign pledges of successful candidates may be indicative of the fact that, generally speaking, the stand of the existing PCOG expressed by [slogans of] "build up strong and tough students assembly" and "the revolutionary democratic struggle" failed to get much of students support.

Moreover, when one takes [the stand of] the existing PCOG as a representation of the will of those who "first conceived the issues," the results of college students poll must be regarded as a proof to the contrary of the fact that their [PCOG's] mass-oriented organizational foundation was weak.

Seoul National University Election in Which Democratic Competition Was launched On the other hand, on 20 March, the existing PCOG and the PCOCs held "a general meeting of all students to build up a general assembly of students and to reject the front line recruitment" and organized a new PCOG. Chairmen of the college students assemblies and members of the PCOG organized an election administration committee, which administered the entire election process of the new PCOG. Let us briefly review that [election]: only the portion whose review is needed for discussion.

In the recent election, three candidates took part in the race. When the first campaign in the Kwanak Campus was over, there was an incident in which the police instituted a search for two candidates in connection with the content of campaign posters. During the second campaign in the Suwon Campus, recorded speeches were played in the campaign. During the campaign period, these three candidates launched open debates by presenting varied views regarding various issues, including that of the status, roles, and duties of the general assembly of students, put up from the beginning of the school term. Let us then roughly review here assertions of these three candidates.

Mark No 1 Mr Ch'oe Chong-kyu (Aesthetics 4): Putting a banner "Oh, the dead! Popular masses! Reviving Kwangju! Let us have a revolutionary assembly of students under the banner of convening a parliament for constitutional amendment!", he put up the following major campaign pledges designed to build up a strong and tough assembly of students that is capable of achieving strong unity of the four million popular masses and a million students throughout the

country: (1) to build up a revolutionary "general federation of students throughout the country" with the democratic popular masses students federation set forth as its axis; (2) to launch a struggle together with all the popular masses to convene a revolutionary constitutional parliament; and (3) to hold a grand discussion rally of the whole nation to debate the current political situation on a regular basis. Furthermore, he also pledged the strengthening of editing rooms of the colleges, opening the library for 24 hours, and the freedom of press on campuses.

The police officially instituted a search on 31 March for Mr Ch'oe in connection with the content of the following wall posters he put up for election: "overthrow once and for all the fascist clique which is sharpening bayonets for frantic festivals in 1986 and 1988 and a few monopolistic zaibatsu which are parasites of that clique," and "establish a rule of the popular masses and a democratic republic by means of revolution."

Mark No 2 Mr Yi Nam-chu (Economics 4): Putting up a slogan "Cut the rope of oppression and smash the tyrannical government!" he announced that he "made up my mind to rise up as a courageous man in front of the deaths of ancestral patriots at this very moment at which we are deprived of national independence." Asserting that "this land is a colony and the parent state is controlling it," he set forth the following major campaign pledges: (1) to render efforts to achieve independence, democratization, and unification of the fatherland, and to thoroughly implement the policy of "desperate obstruction of the constitutional amendment for a cabinet system" and "the liquidation of colonial slavery education" in order to win democracy and human rights; (2) to support and accelerate "the freedom of press on campus and launch a campus paper of the assembly of students" and "the organization of council of ordinary professors" in order to build up a democratic assembly of students; and (3) to set spurs to the building up of "the general federation of students throughout the country" for the unified struggle and unity of youths and students.

On 30 March, the police officially instituted a search for Mr Yi in connection with the content of wall posters he put up for election asserting "do away with the Team Spirit, a military exercise for nuclear war in which our brethren may be crushed to death and the Korean Peninsula may be turned into a sea of fire," "South and North Korea's joint sponsoring Olympic games to effect an opportunity for national harmony and true unification," and "making the Korean Peninsula a nonnuclear zone and liquidating the Yankee- and Japanese-oriented culture."

Mark No 3 Mr Yi Chun-sik (Business Management 4): putting up the banners "Oh, howling Kwanak, a battle cry for the liberation of the South and North!", and "Toward a new dawn of fatherland unification by crushing the iron wall of division!", he set forth his basic concept for the following major campaign pledges in line with the proposition that the structural contradiction of the Korean Peninsula derives from the structure of division: in order to build up a general assembly of students designed to play a primary role in effecting the liberation of the South and North and the fatherland unification: (1) "organize a general federation for the unification of the South and the North"; (2) "build a Prayer Hall for the Unification of the South and the

North"; (3) "establish a Research Institute for the Unification of the South and the North"; and (4) "Institute a local community movement."

In this way, one may say that the process of election of chairman of the general assembly of students of the Seoul National University was a process in which candidates, whose views are clearly divided on general issues, sought proof of the mass-oriented righteousness of their stands through the direct election of the masses of students. Meanwhile, during the period in which the assembly of students was being built, there were no particular political meetings or demonstrations. Emphatic efforts were rendered to create, in the process of building the assembly of students, a cultural space that is designed to induce general students' greater interest and participation. [All] this must be taken as events that have something to do with "the policy line of the masses."

Election in Festival Atmosphere

Next, let us briefly review the process of organizing general assemblies of students at Yonsei University and Koryo University. In the case of Yonsei and Koryo Universities, unlike that of the Seoul National University, there were no major differences among internal views and the election was comparatively smoothly carried out. Both universities early on organized central election administration committees, adopted a most democratic election procedure, and organized a general assembly of students respectively on 20 March and 24 March.

In other words, in these two universities, views on the status, roles, and organization procedure of the assembly of students were coordinated harmoniously at an early stage. They set forth the process per se of organizing the assembly of students as the first step toward the restoration of mass-orientedness of the student movement. Thus that process and the event per se of the inauguration ceremony of the assembly of students took place while many students were taking part in them in a festival atmosphere.

First, in the case of the Yonsei University, two candidates whose stands were similar to each other ran the race. Their campaign pledges were as follows: Mark No 1 Mr U Sang-ho (Korean literature 4), putting up the banner "draw close in the general assembly of students, get together in the general assembly of students!" asserted that "the polarization in the university climate must be overcome with the sense of homogeneity."

This candidate put up the following major campaign pledges: (1) that the spirit of the Yonsei man is in "Poet Yun Tong-chu's (graduate of the Yonhui College) thought of self-reliant independence and his spirit of resistance for the sake of the nation" and in order to carry it on; (2) efforts must be rendered to eliminate various undemocratic systems; (3) active efforts must be made in order to achieve ahead of schedule the unification of the fatherland by means of restoring national homogeneity and to establish an independent democratic government by means of repulsing foreign forces; (4) activities of the assembly of students must be made open to the public and the function of the meeting of representatives must be vitalized; (5) a creative and autonomic culture must be established; the flunkyist culture must be overcome; and

thereby the national culture must restore its healthfulness; and (6) dormitories must be built for the welfare of students. (The police instituted a search for Mr U on 20 March in connection with "the Students League for National Salvation.")

Mark No 2 Mr Han Ho-yon (Economics 4) put up the following major campaign pledges: (1) actively support the struggle for the right to survival; (2) launch the struggle and win the democratization of the fatherland and its independent unification; (3) secure the space for self-government activities; and (4) banishment of undemocratic elements on the campus and abolition of inefficiency in the school administration. Compared with those of Mr U cited above, one may find difficulty in finding any difference between them.

After all, in the case of Yonse University, the process per se of organizing the general assembly of students was carried out in a heightened festival atmosphere during the electioneering campaigns of these two candidates. As indicated in the two candidates' campaign pledges, indicative and drastic propaganda of political struggle slogans was excluded almost entirely. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the election was an opulent cultural festival held, from the beginning to the end, for the cause of vitalizing culture in the university, of enhancing the consciousness of the Yonse community, and of exalting the desire for the unification of the fatherland.

Debate on the Function of the Assembly of Students

The state of affairs was also similar in the case of the Koryo University. The Koryo University organized its central election administration committee on 27 February, even before the school term began. By 6 March, the registration of candidates was all finished in compliance with the electoral procedures set forth by the committee. Electioneering campaigns and the voting process themselves, which took place till 24 March when the inauguration ceremony for the general assembly of students was held, were a cultural holy communion held in a festival atmosphere from the beginning to the end.

In the Koryo University, too, two candidates ran the race.

Mark No 1 Mr Hwang Sung-t'aek (business management 4) put up the following: (1) that students' self-government must not reign over the masses of students or regard them as an objective of guidance; (2) the democratization of the campus must be attained through democratic concentration and a new horizon of student movement must be opened up: in other words, by means of overcoming the vacuousness of slogans and the division of the movement system centered around the struggle committee, the Three L (liberation, liberty, and life) movement must be actively implemented; and (3) the cultural space must be expanded and the welfare school of Koryo [University] must be realized.

Campaigning against this, Mark No 2 Mr Yi In-yong (Korean Literature 4) set forth the status and duty of the assembly of students as "an organization of self-government activities established to carry out the mission and duty historically assigned to youthful students of the divided fatherland that is groaning under the foreign oppression and tyranny."

Mr Yi asserted in defining the direction of activities of the general assembly of students: (1) that leanings toward political struggle and the error of loss of the popular masses must be liquidated and thereby a general assembly of students of 20,000 Koryo University fellow students must be built on; (2) by means of putting together democratic desires and demands, a true democratic liberation community must be instituted so that all students may be able to be united with the consciousness of being the master, and of their rights; and (3) one must struggle on to achieve the democratic independent unification of the fatherland.

In this way, in the case of the Koryo University, too, almost none of the differences between the stands of the two candidates stood out. Generally speaking, it must be proper to say that campaigns were focussed on promoting the consciousness of active participation among the masses of students under the major proposition that "the democratization of self-government activities on the campus be attained." As a matter of fact, the process of organization of general assemblies of students of both universities was an opulent cultural festival of all university personnel, including the school authorities.

Problem Consciousness for Restoration of Mass-Orientedness

What does the process of organization of general assemblies of students of the three universities cited above indicate in connection with the state of changes in the student movement in the first half of 1987? To find out, let me first quote the thoughts expressed by the successful candidate Mr U Sang-ho in the wake of election of chairman of the general assembly of students of the Yonse University.

"The 1985-86 general assembly of students carried out 'a struggle launched for others' after all in launching a taking-the-lead political struggle that was separated from students. I think that an urgent task that should be carried out to overcome such a tendency is to collect and review, in order, opinions on the campus and unify them. A concrete method of implementing that is to gouge out various undemocratic elements on the campus and thereby to pursue students own rights...."

After all, the student movement in the first half of 1987 set forth an imminent task: of overcoming the sense of alienation of the masses of students, which was a negative consequence of the taking-the-lead political struggle; of securing homogeneity with all students; and thereby of restoring the mass-orientedness of the student movement. And, in order to implement the task, it is above all imperative that the struggle for democratization of the campus be launched in diverse ways around the general assembly of students that is an autonomous self-government organization, a center, and that all undemocratic elements on the campus be gouged out.

Moreover, such a consciousness of the issue of "restoring mass-orientedness" seems to have brought about a consensus among the elements of the student movement of almost all universities, except for those students of the national and democratic struggle committees (the so-called anti-imperialist, anti-fascist national democratic struggle committees which have consistently called for the struggle to convene a constituent assembly since early 1986) of some

universities, including Seoul National University, Sogang University, and Songgyun'gwan University. In order to find some persuasive grounds for this argument, let us here briefly review the concrete state of affairs of the students movement launched during last March and April.

According to an announcement of the Ministry of Education, during the two month period from March to April [of this year], a total of 451 meetings and demonstrations took place in 73 universities throughout the country. Among them, it is said, 242 demonstrations at 45 universities were launched in connection with internal issues of schools. Those internal issues of schools were mainly the following: unfavorable measures (for example, exclusion from regular promotion) taken by school authorities against those professors who signed "the university professors declaration on the current political situation" in the first half of last year; strong disciplinary measures taken against those students who were once arrested in connection with the organization of the Patriotic Students Struggle and the Kon'guk University Sit-in incident at the end of October last year and who were later released, etc.; etc.; and financial irregularities in some private universities and the issue of poor research and welfare facilities in local universities.

On the other hand, those meetings and demonstrations staged as political struggles related to the current political situation were all, one can say, the so-called 19 April succession struggle which was launched all at once on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the 19 April revolution, except for the struggle which was launched primarily by some universities in the Seoul and Inchon areas and which was organized by the National Democratic Struggle forces to call for convening a constituent assembly and "the struggle to repudiate the front line recruitment and training" launched by some universities in the Seoul region.

At any rate, sparks of fire erupted on the campuses which were quiet for a month in March when school authorities took strong disciplinary measures against those students who were once arrested in connection with the incident of the Patriotic Students Struggle that occurred at the end of October of last year and the street demonstration (by the National Democratic Struggle) staged in Sin'gil-dong in November, and who were then released.

The root of the problem was in the resolute "punishment guidelines" of the Ministry of Education toward those students involved in incidents resulting from the current political situation. The guidelines instructed that those students who received final and conclusive judgment following the arrest and indictment be expelled; those students who were released be suspended for an indefinite period; and those students who got a suspension of indictments or who were released after admonitions be suspended for a certain period or be placed on their good behavior.

Moreover, Son Che-sok, minister of education, declared on 18 February [this year] in his speech at the regular general convention of the ROK University Education Council (Chairman: Kim Ch'i-son, president of the Sungsil University) which was attended by presidents and deans of 104 universities throughout the country that he would "see to it, from now on, that a system will be established firmly so that those students who indulge in

demonstrations may not be able to graduate." He then said that "demonstrations and education cannot be compatible with each other." Thus university authorities had no other alternative but to observe the punishment guidelines cited above.

However, the origin of the problem came from an excessive measure taken by the university authorities. Namely, despite the fact that the Seoul National University suspended for an indefinite period those 20 students who were released in connection with the Patriotic Students Struggle incident. Regarding those 27 students who were involved in incidents related to the current political situation, the university authorities took an additional measure of expelling them on the basis of academic reasons evoking "the regulations governing an F course grade caused by less than the prescribed number of school attendance days. Such a measure as this aroused public opinion in that it is a dual punishment and further led to an all night sit-in on the campus in which even parents of students took part. Thus it developed into a first step toward "the April struggle." In a nutshell, the rigid administration of the Ministry of Education and the school authorities excessive responses completely changed the atmosphere on the campus that had been quiet, and led to a more heated struggle, which was ironic.

"The April Struggle" Which Put Emphasis on Internal Issues of the Campus

In this way, the student movement in the early part of April began heating up with emphasis on internal issues of the campus in compliance with plans set forth in the process of organization of the general assembly of students. A brief summary of the state of affairs of demonstrations staged in universities is as follows:

Pusan University (2 April--17 April): When the school authorities revised regulations and replaced reporters of the campus paper (PUSAN UNIVERSITY PAPER) with graduate students, 7 officers of the general assembly of students staged a hunger sit-in. Then flames spread to the masses struggle on the campus. Students launched fierce demonstrations with assertions under slogans of "the government-controlled president must step down" and "Oppose the appointment of graduate students to be campus paper reporters." They occupied the office of the president (10 April); and things developed to the extent that they even snatched mid-term examination papers.

In connection with the snatching by students of examination papers, the police arrested 7 students including officers of the assembly of students. Violently angered by that and rebelling against it, students staged demonstrations day after day; and when the state of affairs developed to the extent that more than 15,000 students took part in demonstrations daily, the school authorities began to calm them down.

At last, President Ch'oe Chae-hun showed up at an emergency session of the general assembly of students convened by students and declared "acceptance of items of demands." Thus the situation was soothed. The police, too, in an effort not to stir up the great masses of students, suspended indictment of those students arrested.

Kyongbuk University (15 April--23 April): Directly started from the issue of dropping, from regular promotion, Professor Pak Yang-sik (51 of age; Law School, Public Law Department; took part also in the signature campaign launched by 40 professors who were submitting "opinions regarding open recruitment of professors" in February last year), who took part in and signed the professors declaration on the current political situation in the first half of last year. As soon as this fact was made known to students while colleague professors were rebelling against and submitting petitions, students rushed into an all night sit-in demanding "cancelling the dropping from promotion," "stepping down of the president," and "putting an end to the oppression of the school."

Then the students launched the struggle to occupy the office of the president (15 April, when they obtained over 160 pages of memoranda regarding the school inspection, etc.) and convened an emergency session of the general meeting of students as well as a meeting of the general assembly of students and resolved to refuse to take examinations and to attend classes. Thus, when the number of those students who were taking part in demonstrations exceeded 6,000, President So Won-sop resigned--the first case of resignation among the presidents of national universities--in an effort to settle the situation.

Kyongsang University: A demonstration was staged demanding the freedom of press of the campus paper.

Ulsan University (10 April--11 April): Problems started when the space used as a recreation area for students was closed with the apparent justification that additional classrooms needed to be built. Students rebelled against that and staged demonstrations saying that it was a measure in which the school authorities unilaterally took away a recreation space. Some [students] launched a movement to boycott classes. Then the school authorities expelled four students who led that movement and the state of affairs worsened.

Pusan Tongui University: A demonstration was staged to request that a professor of the Japanese Language Department, whom students called a professor of violence, be withdrawn.

Chonnam University (15 April): Students demanded that warning notices based on school affairs regulations be eased. They occupied a room attached to the office of the president and staged an all night sit-in.

Cheju University (20 April--21 April): Students boycotted mid-term examinations demanding that improper disciplinary actions be retracted (90.3 percent of students took part in that).

Chonbuk University: Students staged a demonstration demanding that improper disciplinary actions be retracted.

Chonju University: Demanding that the president resign, etc., students occupied the office of the president and staged a sit-in.

Kyonggi University: A campus demonstration was staged demanding that the chairman of the foundation and the president step down.

Tan'guk University (8 April--25 April): Starting from the 8-point demand on the welfare issue on campus. This expanded because of the issue of the admission of an excessive number of students. Students staged demonstrations and sit-ins demanding that the president step down.

In the Chungang University, Kyonghui University, Hanyang University, Tongguk University, Tan'guk University, Foreign Language University, and Kon'guk University, major and minor demonstrations were staged frequently by local campus students in connection with the issue of "failure in implementing public commitments on developing local campuses and of discriminations."

In this way, the student movement in April was launched with the dimension of not going much beyond the limit of the struggle for democratization of the campus in general, except for "the struggle for secession of the 19 April Revolution," with which I am going to deal later [in this article.] This trend is closely connected with the direction of the movement of the general assembly of students described above. One may say that that trend is coming up to the surface as a characteristic of the student movement in the first half of 1987.

Meanwhile, the trend of the student movement continued even in May. The incident that took place on 6 May on the Ansan Campus of Hanyang University when students violently occupied the office of the president and set fire may represent a typical case in which a student demonstration was staged in connection with the issues, in which almost all private universities are involved, of campus welfare and irregularities in the foundations.

The incident, which took place on the same day, in which students of the Choson University staged demonstrations and set fire may be regarded as another typical case of the struggle for campus democratization. It started from frequent use of violence by the teaching staff (it is said that there were many instances in which teaching staff themselves arrested students and beat them up), (see the mimeographed handbill entitled "Our pathetic wish for the struggle to punish the student affairs office of the Choson University, which is a violent torture organization controlled by the government") and the accumulated dissatisfaction of students about an irregular atmosphere on the campus that is something like a building construction site.

Moderate Demonstrations

As described above, the state of development of the student movement remained primarily within the level of the democratization struggle on the campus. However, it is not a fact, needless to say, that there was not any political struggle other than that. Namely, in some universities, the following were consistently launched: the struggle to boycott the frontline recruitment and training; the struggle for "doing away with safeguarding the constitution, and the constitutional amendment for direct election and democratization" launched during the period in which the 13 April safeguard-constitution measure was taken and the 27th anniversary of the 19 April Revolution was

commemorated; and the violent political struggle on and outside the campus launched by the National Democratization Struggle forces calling for the convention of a constituent assembly.

However, the number of demonstrations shown in statistics was greatly reduced and, furthermore, the state of things in the struggle, too, consistently stayed in a moderate form, which is entirely different from the form of struggle of previous years.

In the case of the struggle against the frontline recruitment and training, it did not become a great issue in the first half of this year, compared to the state of things in 1986 in which the Independent National Struggle forces, the center of the struggle, labeled it as "a Yankee mercenary education" and launched a violent anti-U.S. struggle and, while that was taking place, the situation was intensified through the struggle of Messrs Kim Se-chin and Yi Chae-ho who burned themselves to death.

Namely, except for the struggle of students of the Seoul National University who had resolved, from the beginning of the school term, to launch the struggle to boycott the frontline recruitment and training (even up to 28 April, the date designated as the admission date, the final conclusion could not be drawn through the debate held so far; and recruited students gathered at the assembly place and staged a joint sit-in for 8 hours. But most of them entered the camp after the start. More than 60 of them, however, boycotted through to the end (continuing the sit-in) and except for the boycott struggle launched by students of the National Democratization Struggle forces of some universities, there have been no special movements in most other universities. On the contrary, as seen in the cases of the Yonsei University and the Hanyang University, the following trend began: the trend to change the content and meaning of the frontline recruitment and training per se into "a place of democratization and unification" (a period in which students can agonize over and discuss practically the subjective consciousness of realities of the nation and the plan for and principle of a true unification) and the dimension of "a grand pilgrimage through the site of fatherland division."

On the other hand, on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the 19 April Revolution, universities throughout the country launched meetings and demonstrations against the 13 April measure to safeguard the constitution as well as the struggle designed to succeed the national-and-democratic-movement-oriented legitimacy of the 19 April democratic revolution. However, in general, the state of affairs moderated. Namely, except for the street demonstration staged at the Suyu-ri 19 April Cemetery, various mass-oriented programs, including academic speech meetings, seminars, games, and contests were carried out; and emphasis was on the internalization, on the part of students, of the significance of 19 April. Even when demonstrations were staged on the campus, students voluntarily broke them up early. Thus they showed the posture of self-control.

No one can tell how long such a state of affairs will continue. However, as long as the direction of the struggle for internal democratization of the campus, as set forth in the process of organization of the general assembly of students subsist for the time being, it seems that no great changes will

suddenly come about in the basic tone of the situation. Such a trend as this, one may say, is clearly shown in the state of affairs where the majority of the student movement are keeping silent, despite the seemingly urgent circumstances which led to protest statements from non-government circles, religious forces, professors, graduate students, and various professional organizations, one after another, against the 13 April measure, designed to safeguard the constitution, of the government and the government party. This has led to widespread hunger protests and sit-ins.

Characteristics of the Student Movement of the First Half of 1987

Now let us review some characteristics of the student movement of the first half of 1987, which were visible in the new state of affairs resulting from the process of the organization of the general assembly of students reviewed above, and in the trend of the popular and more moderate student meetings and demonstrations on and outside the campus. Let us analyze the background. First, a summary of characteristics shown in the process of launching the student movement in the first half of 1987 is as follows:

First, in relation to the general direction of the movement, emphasis on popularizing has been conspicuous. This can easily be confirmed in the process of organization of the assembly of students and, in particular, in the campaign pledges put up by candidates. Almost all the candidates emphasized the collection and review of democratic views from the mass of students and the restoration of the mass-orientedness in the student movement. They put up in concrete form those pledges regarding the gouging out of undemocratic elements on the campus and the promotion of student welfare. Such an emphasis on mass-orientedness formed a wide zone of responses. This is true in view of the result of the students' vote which did not render much support to the slogans advocating the organization of "a strong revolutionary assembly of students."

On the other hand, in connection with that, the struggle for internal democratization of the campus has been vitalized. Up to that time, only the principle-oriented understanding that "it would be impossible to effect a structural solution of internal problems on the campus unless the democratization of the society comes first" had worked. Thus the "daily" struggle for internal democratization of the campus was viewed as one step measure with a pessimistic view or contempt. However, from the first half of 1987 on, various irregularities and undemocratic elements, including "the presidents' becoming government-controlled" and the violence of the school staff, the undemocratic and uneducational operations carried out by private foundations, defective educational and welfare facilities, and the government control of the press on the campus, have come to draw fresh attention; and one has come to understand anew their significance.

Moreover, in order to form a zone of more positive responses, various multiform cultural programs, which conform with the mass-oriented emotion of the mass of students, were planned and carried out. They would also be able to function as an important foundation on which a new image of university culture may be established and developed.

Second, in the theory governing struggle, there has come a trend that the theory of the so-called taking the lead struggle centered around political struggle retrocedes.

During the past 2 to 3 years, the theory of strong taking the lead struggle, which placed emphasis on the political issue struggle, formed the main stream of student movement. Thus the organization of the assembly of students, as a representative organization of students' autonomous self-government activities, was charged with the role of daily cultural struggle only. Accordingly, the student movement was led by those strong taking the lead political struggle organizations, which had a status that is different from that of the assembly of students (for example, the Students Association for Democratic Struggle, the Democratic National Mass Struggle, the Independent National Struggle, and the National Democratic Struggle, etc.) and various special struggle committees under their jurisdiction. However, from the first half of 1987 on, even those struggle committees of special struggle committee level have not appeared yet; and in such a situation as this, more and more emphasis is placed on the role of the general assembly of students as a mass struggle organization.

Third, "the struggle designed to render assistance to the popular masses" (or the struggle for survival right of the popular masses) which was actively launched with the concept of "the solidarity of students with workers" since the second half of 1984 is not being carried out at all. And "the education and struggle programs (for example, events to mark the 10 March Labor Day and the joint struggle to commemorate May Day) designed to attain the mass-orientedness" of the student movement itself, too, were not implemented at all. Such a state of things may be directly related with the apparent stagnation in the labor movement in the first half of 1987. However, it may be regarded as a phenomenon which certainly reflects a change in the direction per se of the student movement.

Fourth, the ideological and theoretical struggle within the student movement which was launched in a serious form in 1985 and 1986 became latent in a considerably moderated form from 1987 on. Although the National and Democratic Struggle forces of some universities, including the Seoul National University, are putting up, as usual, ideological and theoretical issues; generally speaking, the impression is that such things are not coming to the surface.

However, as for this, in view of the fact that the ideological and theoretical struggle which was intense at the time around the end of 1986 came to an end after failing to reach any clear unified agreement, there is always a possibility it will resurface.

The Background of the Policy Toward the Struggle for Restoring Mass-Orientedness

Then what is the background of these characteristics which, in short, indicate a trend of awareness of the restoration of mass-orientedness and the problems of the policy toward taking the lead for the struggle for internal democratization on the campus?

Facts in the background of these characteristics of the student movement in the first half of 1987 are roughly as follows: (1) some self-reflection on the experience in the student movement in 1985 and 1986 and changes made in accordance with that; (2) the loss of "advanced movement forces" caused by the intensive ideological offensive and intensified oppression launched by the government authorities following the Asian Games; in particular, the situation in which mass arrests of students came after the organization of the Patriotic Students Struggle at Kon'guk University and the Sin'gil-dong street demonstrations led by the National Democratization Struggle forces; and the disintegration of the organized movement and the discontinuation of instruction based on experiences; and (3) the dissemination of certain evaluations of experiences and successes in those struggles staged at the Seoul Convention of the New Korea Democratic Party held on 29 November 1986, in the 7 February Memorial Rally, and in the 3 March Grand Peace March.

To review the self-reflection on the part of leading elements of the student movement first, such a reflection started when the Independent National Struggle forces of the Seoul National University declared a transformation in its struggle policy around the time of the 3 May Inchon rally.

Around that time, the Independent National Struggle forces, in their organ LIBERATION FRONT No 3 (30 April 1986), evaluated the struggle launched in March and April and set forth the direction and policy of the May struggle; and they withdrew "the anti-war and anti-nuclear" struggle slogans, which has so far symbolized the Independent National Struggle up to that time, after ruling that those slogans were estranged from the current situation. And, as for the New Korea Democratic Party [NKDP], too, they criticized the existing negative stand which demonstrated hostility to the NKDP and tried to isolate it; and they declared the policy of "struggle for the constitutional amendment to institute a democratic system including the direct election system." However, the struggle policy of the Independent National Struggle forces which took a concrete form of struggle for the constitutional amendment to institute the direct election system plunged into a deeper ideological and theoretical struggle along with the existing theory of the struggle for securing a national, democratic, and popular constitution and the theory of the struggle for convening a constituent assembly.

In this way, a conclusion drawn in the self-evaluation was that the student movement launched in the second half of 1986 in the situation in which leading elements were thrown into confusion, in particular, the struggle designed to block the Asian Games, almost failed to get the expected result. One may say that such a failed experience marshalled leading elements of the student movement to renew "the intention for restoring mass-orientedness." Thus the consciousness of the problem of restoration of mass-orientedness, which was set forth at the inauguration meeting of the Patriotic Students Struggle Association, is controlling the general characteristics of the student movement in the first half of 1987.

In this way, the major flow of the student movement in the first half of 1987 is directed toward self-reflection. However, on the other hand, that was largely caused due to the fact that the inauguration meeting of the Patriotic

Students Struggle Association, which provided a momentum for self-reflection, developed into a 4-day occupation sit-in and, in the long run, ended with the result of mass arrests which caused "a tremendous loss to the forces of student movement."

In particular, the government and the government party intensified the offensive against the masses and the democratic movement around the time when the incident of the Patriotic Students Struggle Association took place. As a result, "advanced troops" of the student movement were arrested in a great numbers. Thus the accumulation of leading force for the forthcoming struggle and the giving of instruction on the basis of experience were not carried out as they should have been by the arrival of the new school term in 1987.

The unyielding offensive of the government and the government party realistically came about in the process of the attempted blockage of "the 29 November Seoul Convention of the NKDP," "the national memorial rally for late Mr Pak Chong-ch'ol" (7 February), and "3 March Grand Peace March."

These three mass rallies were, in essence, an all-out war begun by all the masses and democratic movement forces, including those of the student movement. It carried an important momentum to secure the advantageous position for the constitutional amendment struggle (spring struggle) in the first half of 1987. However, the reduced force on the part of leading elements of the movement and the realistic power demonstrated by the strong physical force of the government and the government party, which were clearly shown at the rallies, made many in the mass movement forces poignantly feel the necessity to restore mass-orientedness. Thus the leading forces of the student movement had no other alternative but to map out their programs of the first half of the year on the basis of necessity of a long-term mass operation designed to develop political consciousness of the masses which had been latent.

In short, all the subjective and objective conditions, which led to the self-reflection conducted around the time when the incident of the Patriotic Students Struggle Association occurred in the second half of 1986, the all out offensive launched, on a full-fledged scale, by the government and the government party after that, and the large-scale loss of force caused by all this, established various affirmative and negative characteristics of the student movement in the first half of 1987.

Perspective of the Student Movement

The student movement which was more concentrated in the struggle for internal democratization on the campus with the consciousness of the issue of the restoration of mass-orientedness in March and April began taking a new posture from May, while "the Council of University Students Representatives in the Seoul Region (abbreviation: CUSRSR; chairman: Mr Yi In-yong, chairman of the general assembly of students of the Koryo University) and "the Preparation Committee for Establishing the Students Association of the Honam Region" were inaugurated respectively. However, it is doubtful whether the movement would become capable of overcoming the realistic condition of the general "shortage of force." In particular, it is difficult to easily predict the development of

the movement from now on under the circumstances in which the government authorities, not easing their ultra-intensive offensive after the 13 April measure designed to safeguard the constitution, and in which the police officially instituted a search for all of the chairmen of the general assemblies of students of those 18 universities which joined the CUSRSR.

Moreover, from 1987 on, the labor movement, too, has not been taking an active part in the struggle. It is doing its utmost to build up the foundation of the masses. A major variable of the development of the student movement of 1987 would come from the development of the labor movement during the period ranging from the end of the wage struggle season to "the Kwangju student memorial period."

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CSO: 4107/230

KPA ANNIVERSARY ACTIVITIES ANALYZED

Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean No 535, 1 May 87 pp 1R-7R

[Text] Seoul-NAEWOE--This year on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the founding (25 May) of the so-called Korean People's Army, its aggressive armed forces, the North Korean clique urged its armed forces to strengthen their combat readiness massively for the communization of South Korea, and to become more loyal to Kim Il-song-Kim Chong-il father-son so as to function and perform faithfully as the so-called leader's army, and the party's army.

In spite of the fact that this year happens to be the 55th anniversary of the founding of the armed forces, a multiple of 5th anniversary, the North Korean clique has refrained from large-scale activities probably out of consideration for its image abroad, in accordance with its recently stepped-up disguised peace offensive. Instead, it has concentrated on urging the strengthening of combat capabilities of the armed forces and on their unquestioned loyalty to the Kim father-son in various other activities and in editorials.

On the occasion of the recent anniversary of the founding of the armed forces, to start with on 24 April at Pyongyang while party, administration, and military cadres were mobilized en mass for a "central reporting meeting," (on 27 April) Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il inspected North Korean puppet military troops, and (on 25 April) personally urged the strengthening of military power; (on 25 April) a celebration banquet sponsored by the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces was held; (on 25 April) party and administration cadres dedicated wreaths at the revolutionaries' mausolea at Mt Taesong and to the "warriors of the People's Army monument"; (on 23-26 April) representatives from all quarters visited military troops; (beginning on 23 April) military poster exhibits were held and traveling performances by art groups were held. Thus, through such activities its military power was demonstrated and absolute loyalty to Kim Il-song-Kim Chong-il father-son was pledged. Also, on 24 April at the North Korean missions in Moscow and Beijing local military leaders were invited to banquets, and reportedly the "combative friendship and cooperation" of mutual military powers was pledged.

On the other hand, around this anniversary the party organ of North Korea, NODONG SINMUN, and other newspapers and broadcasts and all other propaganda media praised in unison the leadership of Kim Il-song-Kim Chong-il for the North Korean puppet forces, and repeatedly urged the unconditional loyalty of the armed forces toward the father-son, and unfolded bitter framed-up slander and propaganda against South Korea and the United States in connection with the current situation prevailing on the Korean Peninsula. And in the name of countering this, they also editorially urged the strengthening of combat capabilities of the entire armed forces and the completion of their combat readiness.

Attending the "Central Report Meeting" held on 24 April at Pyongyang were many party and administration cadres led by Premier of the Administration Council Yi Kun-mo, Vice Chairman Pak Song-ch'ol, Im Ch'un-ch'u, and Yi Chong-ok, many military leaders led by General Chief of Staff O Kuk-yol (rapporteur), and many so-called heroes and revolutionary warriors, bereaved families of the war dead, and representatives of the residents.

At this report meeting, O Kuk-yol maintained that the North Korean puppet forces were the "revolutionary armed forces" that Kim Il-song had organized and nurtured, and were "chuche-type revolutionary troops" solely with so-called Kim Il-song's chuche ideology. Ignoring the fact that the North Korean puppet forces were founded on 8 February 1948 under the direction and control of the Soviet forces as a military means of realizing their ambition for communizing South Korea, he fabricated as if their founding originated in the so-called "Korean People's Revolutionary Force" (claimed to have been founded on 25 April 1932). He concocted in order to justify Kim Il-song's so-called anti-Japanese armed struggle, and frenziedly engaged in propagandizing, praising Kim Il-song's leadership over the North Korean puppet forces.

O boasted that with Kim's "outstanding guidance" of the North Korean puppet forces their armed forces completely carried out the so-called four major military lines, the "converting the entire army into a cadre army," the "modernization of the entire army," the "arming of all of the people," and the "turning the entire country into a fortress," with the result that "they achieved revolutionary forces capable of winning in fighting any military troops."

O also propagandized that the fact that their armed forces had grown to such a level today was owed entirely to Kim Il-song, and agitated the North Korean puppet forces to "send this day to Kim Il-song the greatest honors and gratitude" with "burning loyalty."

O then unfolded bitter slanderous propaganda against South Korea in reference to the "Team Spirit 87" and the recent situation prevailing on the Korean Peninsula, and agitated the entire North Korean armed forces led by the People's Army to "prepare all the necessary combat mobilization posture in order to annihilate and wipe out the enemy with

one stroke" and in order to cope with the prevailing situation, and frenziedly encouraged a war climate and belligerency toward South Korea.

O maintained that in order for the North Korean puppet forces to acquire "the necessary combat mobilization posture," a struggle was needed to further strengthen the armed forces politically and ideologically, and with military technology. O proposed measures for strengthening war preparations to achieve their ambition to communize South Korea, including the completion of the revolutionary spirit and the work system within the armed forces to implement unconditionally and fully the party's orders and directions; the training of the entire armed forces in modern weaponry, combat techniques, and equipment and materiel; the development of military science and technology and the improvement of military equipment to meet the demand of modern warfare; and the strengthening of the "defense system of all of the people" in accordance with the "policy for arming all of the people and turning the whole country into a fortress."

Then, also on 25 April at a banquet held at the "People's Cultural Palace" in Pyongyang sponsored by the "Ministry of the People's Armed Forces" and attended by Yi Kun-mo, Pak Song-ch'ol, high-ranking military leaders, and members of foreign missions stationed in Pyongyang, O Kuk-yol stressed in his speech that "today the North Korean puppet forces" had generally revamped military and technological equipment in accordance with the party's military policies for converting the entire army into a cadre army and for modernizing the entire army, and the combat capabilities of military troops were "extra-ordinarily strengthened," thus demonstrating the facts of strengthened armament. He strongly agitated the armed forces to wage tenacious struggle for the "ultimate victory of the revolution" (the communization of the Korean Peninsula) by rallying around the "leader and the party center" (Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il); then, he urged them to remain absolutely loyal to their functions and roles as the private army of the Kim father-son.

On the occasion of the anniversary of founding of the armed forces, the North Korean puppet clique also organized throughout North Korea delegations from each region, work place, and organization to visit military troops, thus inspiring the hostility of the Korean puppet forces against South Korea and belligerency toward South Korea. North Korean propaganda organs reported that on this occasion especially they staged an agitation farce of passing a resolution to "defend and protect with their lives Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il politically, ideologically."

On the other hand, North Korean broadcasts reported on that day that on 27 April Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il, followed by many important persons, including Yi Kun-mo, Pak Song-ch'ol, Im Ch'un-ch'u, Yi Chong-ok, So Ch'ol, Kim Yong-nam, Ho Tam, Yon Hyong-muk, and Kang Song-san, visited the North Korea puppet 111th Army Unit to inspect

their training and military equipment, and issued so-called "programmatic instructions" for strengthening military armament and war preparations. However, they failed to reveal the contents of the instructions.

Receptions commemorating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the North Korean puppet forces were held on 24 April also at the North Korean missions in Beijing and Moscow. The Beijing reception (sponsored by the military attache stationed there, Chong To-ch'ol) were attended by Communist Chinese representatives such as General Chief of Staff Yang De-zhi and the Beijing District Military Commander Chin Ki (phonetic). It was reported that they expressed their stance of supporting the North Korean "unification policy," and the North Korean side expressed its gratitude to the Chinese Communist for their support of North Korea. (Beijing Broadcast, 25 May) To the Moscow reception were invited Director General of the General Political Bureau of the Soviet forces Aleksey Lizichev and Deputy Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yakovlev and other persons. Reportedly they pledged "combative cooperation and friendly relations" to each other.

In its editorial dated 25 April the North Korean party organ, NODONG SINMUN, stressed that for the armed forces that Kim Il-song organized and nurtured, Kim Chong-il had recently glorified Kim Il-song's "ideology for founding the armed forces," and "had led at the forefront Kim Il-song's chuche ideology and work," and fiercely agitated the North Korean puppet forces to "fight by sacrificing their lives" for Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il. This demonstrated that Kim Chong-il is in a position to exercise, as a matter of fact, command over the North Korean puppet forces. It also suggested that the North Korean puppet forces are shifting from the so-called Kim Il-song's military forces to Kim Chong-il's military forces.

Such a series of moves on the occasion of the founding day of the North Korean puppet forces may be summarized as follows: While ignoring the recent substantive North-South dialogue, the North Korean clique is frenziedly mounting disguised peace and propaganda offensives such as the "tripartite military conference" and the "high-level political and military conference" between North and South. Internally it is adding spurs to the establishment of Kim Chong-il's command over the military forces in the process of shifting in the father-son succession system, and it shows frenziedly strengthening of combat training and the strengthening of armament in accordance with its ambition for making South Korea a communist nation.

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PYONGYANG DECRIES U.S. APPROACH TO KOREAN AFFAIRS

41100228 Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 24 Jul 87 p 6

[Article by Hwang Chin-sik: "A Tricky New 'Peace' Scheme"]

[Text] Sigur, U.S. assistant secretary of state, in his speech, entitled "A New Beginning," at a meeting of "the Foreign Policy Society," laid bare U.S. imperialism's constant sinister design of aggression against Korea. It was filled with malicious slanders and mudslingings toward our republic.

He made a laudable gesture in his speech, stating that the United States was making preparations for "a new peaceful era on the Korean peninsula." However, his speech was no exception to the United States' favorite trick of using sweet words and acting to the contrary.

Sigur's speech is a new sly two-pronged trick and a treacherous "peace" scheme.

He shouted out the following: we must move in the direction of achieving "democratization" in order to evoke "a new era" on the Korean Peninsula; "an open door" policy must be employed; and the North-South dialogue must be resumed. They represent a conceited intervention in internal affairs and nonsensical pressure.

Perhaps Sigur might have lost himself in wielding his baton over the South Korean puppet traitors regarding the issue of "democratization," and extended the idea but forgot whom he was dealing with. Otherwise, how could he utter such nonsense as a hokey remark, like "democratization," etc., to us?

The situation is the same with the issue of the North-South dialogue. The ringleader who aggravated the situation to the extent that the North-South dialogue fell apart was the United States. Then to whom is Sigur asking for resumption of the dialogue?

Sigur screamed that "the first step" toward "a new era" on the Korean Peninsula will be our accepting the International Olympic Committee's proposals on the 1988 Olympic games. Herein lies the very sinister objective he sought in his speech. In other words, Sigur sought our acceptance of the

condition that the 24th Olympic Games be played not under the joint sponsorship of the North and the South, but under very unfair and humiliating circumstances for us, that is, under the name of so-called "dispersed sponsorship." He threatened us by saying that Seoul would be the exclusive sponsor, if we do not accept that condition.

Originally, the plan of U.S. imperialism, is that by holding the 24th Olympic Games under Seoul's exclusive sponsorship, it wants to strengthen the South Korean military fascist "regime," which is nothing but a dummy regime of imperialism. And by doing this it will establish a favorable condition for the so-called "cross recognition" and push the plot to forge "two Koreas."

The United States is scheming to ill use the 24th Olympic Games to implement "the two Koreas" policy, deepen the division of Korea, and keep South Korea indefinitely under its control as its colony and a nuclear war base.

Such a U.S. scheme was outspokenly revealed in his speech in which he made a great fuss as follows: he cried out about "the threat of invasion of the South" which does not exist; he tried to convince the audience that the U.S. occupation of South Korea is designed to maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula; and he said the United States would keep "the security pledge" it has given to South Korea. How could the larcenous policy of seeking a lengthy military occupation of South Korea be compatible with the objective of keeping peace on the Korean Peninsula? The "conception" of "a new era of peace on the Korean Peninsula" put forward by the United States has nothing to do with peace whatsoever. It signifies nothing but U.S. imperialism's endless aggressive ambition concerning Korea, and its venturous war policy, in particular, the sinister plan for a nuclear war.

Following the announcement of its "measure for easing contact restrictions" toward us, the United States should have taken some practical measures to ease the tension on the Korean Peninsula; nevertheless, it has not made any move of that kind so far. The speech of the U.S. assistant secretary of state, in which, while taking no practical measures for peace on the Korean Peninsula, they [the United States] made nothing but insolent requests for this and that, is a clear expression of the U.S. insincere attitude of seeking nothing but the policy of division and war, and of being indifferent to peace and unification.

This clearly demonstrates that the ringleader who is putting up roadblocks to peace on the Korean Peninsula and peaceful unification, and who is vocal about the danger of war is the United States.

Sigur's harangue is a plot they [the U.S. imperialists] designed in order to justify, at any cost, their schemes, which are represented by the U.S. policy of "dialogue" and "compromise" [that is being implemented] for the purpose of more firmly establishing the military dictatorship in South Korea today by means of covering it with the mantle of "democracy." The fraudulent nature of their schemes have come to be more and more apparent to the people of South Korea and the people of the world. It is a despicable trick staged in order to control South Korea for a long time by means of realizing, at any cost, South Korean exclusive sponsorship of the Olympic games and thus reducing the

crisis of U.S. imperialism's colonial rule. On the other hand, the speech can be regarded as "a covering fire" for the Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u clique who are desperately seeking survival in face of the South Korean people's anti-U.S. and anti-dictatorship struggle.

The obstacles frustrating peace in Korea and the peaceful unification of Korea are U.S. imperialism's occupation of South Korea and its policy of division and war. Only when this evil root is eliminated, can both peace in Korea and peaceful unification be realized.

The United States must immediately withdraw the U.S. forces and nuclear weapons from South Korea and must put an end to its aggression and intervention in Korea.

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UNITY BETWEEN CIVILIANS, MILITARY UNITS PRAISED

41100200 Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 18 Jun 87 p 4

[Excerpt] Comrade Choe Nam-kuk, secretary of the county party committee where Comrade Kim Hyong-sop works, and Comrade Cho Song-tal, political functionary of the KPA Unit to which Comrade Sin Yong-kon is attached, having taken to heart the party and leader's objectives in displaying deeply the traditional custom of civil-military unity, have shown a splendid model in planning and coordinating this work by cooperating together.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught as follows:

"Our people and military are one unified system which is combined for cooperation with the objective of benefits and cooperation in the work of protecting the independence of the fatherland; they constitute one family."

Comrades Cho Song-tal and Choe Nam-kuk set up the No 2 work team of the Cooperative Farm where Comrade Pak I-ho works as a model unit in civil-military relations, and worked to generalize this model for all townships in the county and all subunits in the unit.

Therefore, the people and KPA units in the county help and love each other like one family, like their own flesh and blood. The people and the military are achieving innovations in carrying out their revolutionary tasks with one heart, one purpose.

Last April, the great leader, having received a report on the status of their work, expressed great satisfaction at this splendid model which has achieved excellent civil-military relations, and taught with copious compliments that it would be a very good thing to extend this model.

Early this year, Comrade Cho Song-tal, who was setting up plans for political work for the unit in order to celebrate magnificently the April holiday as a meaningful event, came to contemplate the words of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il on strengthening civil-military relations and measures to implement them. The idea came to him that here was something which could be carried out to strengthen civil-military relations. His efforts were great, so the results he accomplished were great. If they were to progress one more step in civil-military relations, what would they have to do?

Absorbed in this idea, Comrade Cho Song-tal in this way looked up the neighboring county party committee. Sitting opposite Secretary Comrade Choe Nam-kuk, he laid out the problem and they exchanged opinions. They decided to set up one unit as a model and through this, make the experience general.

For the model units, they selected the unit to which Comrade Yi Sun-chu is attached, which had had an on-the-spot guidance by the great leader and which had received the Flag of the Three Revolutions, and the second work team of the cooperative farm where Comrade Pak I-ho works, which is close to the military unit.

Comrades Choe Nam-guk and Cho Song-tal went together to the localities.

Tilling with the farm workers and sleeping with the soldiers, they understood the realities completely, and went on to design the necessary work, item by item. In the course of this, in the work notebook of the unit political functionary along with the realities of the work team the family situation of the farm workers and even the names of their children who had gone into the military were recorded. In the notebook of the county party secretary, the hometowns and birthdays of the soldiers, and what is more, even their character and disposition were recorded.

They, understanding completely the situation since they were deeply involved, organized a joint meeting of farmers and soldiers.

This meeting, which had been thoroughly prepared, reaped great results. At the meeting, what most impressed the farm primary-level functionaries and the military unit guidance officers was the fact that Comrades Choe Nam-guk and Cho Song-tal knew the farmers and soldiers better than they did.

At the joint meeting site, heartfelt voices cried that they valued and loved the KPA soldiers like their dear children, that they respected the people like their parents and would help them.

After the joint civil-military meeting, they made a "Civil-Military Affirmation Record," and a friendship bulletin board, which was attached to the front gate.

They talked about farmers An Il-ung and Yi Ok-sun, who heard that Squad Leader Om Song-nam--who had lost his parents early and had been raised by a grandmother--had hurt himself training and was in bed. They had devotedly fixed and taken him food and medicine and helped him recuperate. They talked about squad member Kim Yong-chan who, on a training holiday, repaired and cleaned farmer Pak Kum-son's house inside and out, and even set up neatly marsh reed screens for fencing.

When they moved the hearts of the masses with this concrete organizational work, and this model of the new work by selecting a model unit correctly and involving themselves into it, the results appeared clearly, like a beacon.

Without any conceit in these results, Comrades Choe Nam-guk and Cho Song-tal developed a new operation to enhance further civil-military relations. They attached significance to the opinion of the masses that they should prepare a joint civil-military performance on the occasion of the KPA founding holiday, and decided to further develop civil-military relations, using this opportunity.

Therefore, now sensitive to those opinions, instead of preparing the joint performance by selecting a few acts each from among the acts the farmers and soldiers prepared, they chose a new method in which civilians and military participated together in each act. Here, what happened when they prepared the interval drama "One Heart" was instructive. While they prepared cooperatively this interval drama which reflected their own thoughts, both the farmers and the soldiers came to remember once again that they were to go on fighting together with one mind on the road of revolution. This instruction they had received from the party and leader.

In this path of struggle to make general this model of an exemplary unit, a warm civil-military feeling developed between all the cooperative farm work teams and military units in the country. The soldiers called the neighboring work teams "our work teams," and the farmers called the units "our units."

The extent of the warmth of this emotion was such that the farmers and the soldiers became unreservedly close.

It was spring, the time when the early vegetables start to come up. The farmers began the harvest and looked up the soldiers to give them vegetables.

One day, Comrade Cho Song-tal, who had gone to the unit and witnessed this, thought about many things. Especially at a time like this, shouldn't the functionaries be inculcating in the soldiers the traditional custom of civil-military unity?

Therefore, he organized a meeting of unit guidance officers and political functionaries at the head of the vegetable plot. He spoke earnestly.

"As the sincerity of the people is at the utmost, let us plant warm feelings of esteem for the people in the hearts of the soldiers. Let us all go and organize military meetings."

After this, the term "Civil-military garden" arose. The troops frugally cultivated the neighboring farm fields in their spare time from training, just as if the fields were their own, and the farmers fed the soldiers first from the fruits and vegetables which came from these fields.

A word is as thin as a sheet of paper, but hearts of mutual respect and love become more earnest when each thinks of others first, before oneself.

Comrade Choe Nam-kuk, the county party secretary, focused his work on getting the functionaries to act positively in the struggle to make general the model of this example unit.

It was before the battle of new year farming, the time when they decide the size of the vegetable fields. He was deep in thought on a report received on county population statistics related to vegetable supply. The feelings of functionaries who thought about KPA units were not warmly reflected in it. Taking this fact as an opportunity, Comrade Choe Nam-kuk, who felt he would have to straighten out the thoughts of the functionaries, himself got the feature film "The Children," and showed it locally. When the film showing was finished, he stood before the audience and spoke this way.

"How can we sleep soundly this way. The soldiers of neighboring units are our brothers, our sons and daughters. We must think this way always."

Comrade Choe Nam-kuk made a circuit of dozens of ri in the county while warming the hearts of the masses in this way. In this course it was a good job that he got to know the lower conditions better, but also there were greater results in setting aright the viewpoints of the primary-level functionaries concerning civil-military relations.

The point in setting up an example unit and making the model general was that functionaries would have to have the leadership skills to see the big things in small problems and know how to move the whole through one opportunity.

Comrades Choe Nam-kuk and Cho Song-tal, who had obtained results in setting up an example unit and generalizing from this model, progressed one step further and concentrated their efforts on the work to make the traditional custom of civil-military unity blossom among functionaries and soldiers, building on this stalk.

A while back, Comrade Choe Nam-kuk, who learned that a new recruit had come to a certain military unit, dropped everything and headed to that place.

Arriving at the ri which bordered on the military unit, he went up to the unit along with the primary-level functionaries from the ri, including the ri party secretary, who had not yet met the new recruit, and met the newly arrived soldier. Looking at the people who had asked warmly about his home town and his parents, even about his hopes and interests, the soldier said, "Wherever you go, if you talk to a soldier for awhile about his home town, it doesn't seem really like he's left his parent's side."

Since this happened, steps to strengthen civil-military relations have been entered as an important item in the work plan of every ri party secretary in the county.

There was an occasion one time when Comrade Cho Song-tal went down to a certain military unit. Going into the unit indoctrination room, he attentively watched a soldier writing something in a notebook. Looking closer, the soldier was jotting down in his notebook that he would help the farm work team on a holiday. Later, realizing it was the political functionary, the soldier jumped up quickly. Taking up the soldier's notebook, Comrade Cho Song-tal opened it page by page. What was written was the conscience of the soldier, without omission, what he did well and did not do well in civil-military relations. However, the name inscribed in the front was not the soldier's name. The soldier, apprehending Comrade Cho Song-tal's questioning look, said, "This is a notebook which our squad leader gave me. I've just continued writing."

Comrade Cho Song-tal was shocked at those words. He thought the work the political functionary had to do was to make the clean heart of this soldier flower even more beautifully. Therefore, he wrote lecture notes all night long.

In the course of this work, the lofty and traditional custom of civil-military unity, in which the farmers and soldiers of the county helped and guided each other, firmly became one of the habits of a lifetime.

One day in tree-planting season, Comrade Cho Song-tal, who went to the unit to which Comrade Yi Sun-chu is attached, saw soldiers planting acacia trees around the clinic and the circumference of the training ground. When he asked the reason, Comrade Pak Hung-ryong, the unit political officer, said that every year the farm used many boards and logs, and they were trying by their efforts to guarantee these. This acacia forest would grow greener as time passed, and it would be reflected in the hearts of the soldiers, in which the tradition of civil-military unity was flowering forever.

A while ago, the unit performed tactical training.

It was a day when they were passing through a civilian area in the county, with training finished. All the civilians in the county were lined up glowing by the roadside, to greet sincerely their sons and daughters returning victorious from combat. When the waiting rows entered the village, civilians and military mingled as one mass. Youth Corps members fastening red neckties on them, mothers waving national flags, workers inviting them to meals sincerely prepared....

This deeply emotional scene presents a picture which shows that if one takes the trouble to work to make the traditional custom of civil-military unity blossom, and if one moves the masses by seeking a correct method, one will be able to obtain great results everywhere.

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PUBLIC MOBILIZED FOR 7-YEAR PROJECTS

Yon Hyong-muk's Speech

SK090400 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0600 GMT 2 Jul 87

[Speech by Comrade Yon Hyong-muk, member of the Political Bureau, and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, at the meeting for general mobilization to carry out the Third 7-Year Plan, on 2 July in Pyongyang--live]

[Text] Comrades, today we are gathered here to hold the meeting for general mobilization to carry out the Third 7-Year Plan amid a solemn environment in which all the working people across the country are engaged in a vigorous struggle to hasten the complete victory of socialism ahead of schedule, upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's historic policy speech. [applause]

We just have received the WPK Central Committee congratulatory message addressed to this meeting, with great emotion. The WPK Central Committee's congratulatory message is an expression of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's and our party's great trust in and expectations of the participants of this meeting. It vigorously encourages all the working people across the country to join the solemn march of carrying out the Third 7-Year Plan. [applause]

During the 12th plenary meeting of the 6th party Central Committee and again during the First Session of the Eighth SPA, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song presented grand programs for economic construction for the attainment of the complete victory of socialism and, basing himself on them, arranged for the Third 7-Year Plan for the development of the national economy to be adopted as law at the Second Session of the Eighth SPA. Our party center has stirred up the entire party, the entire nation, and all the people to participate in the struggle to implement the Third 7-Year Plan. [applause]

Responding to the call of the party, all the working people in the country have risen as one of the struggle to carry out the grand targets of the Third 7-Year Plan and are effecting each day great renovation at all sites where the rewarding struggle to carry out the targets of the first year of the new long-range plan is staged, by displaying a high degree of their high revolutionary enthusiasm and creative positivity. [applause]

This meeting, being held at a historical moment when our revolution and construction have entered a new turning point, will discuss tasks designed to

further vigorously stage the struggle to expedite the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule and effect great upsurges in socialist construction by mobilizing the working class and all the working people across the country, upholding the militant call of our party.

This meeting for general mobilization, held amid the great interest of our party and the great expectations of the entire population, will serve as a major turning point in expediting our people's struggle to brilliantly carry out the Third 7-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, which reflects the high demand of socialist construction at its new high stage and to attain the complete victory of socialism and the cause of national reunification. [applause]

Comrades, under the wise leadership of our party, our people have made great progress and have achieved brilliant successes in socialist construction by energetically pressing ahead with the three revolutions--ideological, technical, and cultural--holding aloft the banner of the chuche idea. [applause]

Our heroic working class and all the working people have triumphantly completed the Second 7-Year Plan for development of the national economy through their enormous labor struggle designed to implement the decisions of the sixth party congress and create the speed of the eighties. [applause] Thanks to the devoted labor struggle of our working class, all industrial sectors have achieved rapid development and their independence and chuche character have been further increased during the Second 7-Year Plan.

Our industrial output increased by 120 percent from 1978 to 1984, the high rate of 12.2 percent on average annually. The speed of our industrial development is an expression of the high revolutionary enthusiasms and inexhaustible creativity of our working class being fully displayed under the leadership of our party. It is also proof of our industry's great vitality. [applause]

During the Second 7-Year Plan period in particular, a large number of new industrial sectors that rely on the raw materials, fuel, and energy available in our country have been established and sectorial structures have been completed thanks to the vigorous struggle designed to make the national economy chuche-oriented, modernized, and science-oriented. Also during this period, the amount of industrial technology and equipment has risen further still as a result of modernizing and reforming production equipment and processes in all industrial sectors and as a result of energetically pressing ahead with the general mechanization and automation of production.

During the Second 7-Year Plan period, remarkable progress was made in development of the rural economy, as well. Thanks to energetic assistance from the working class, our agricultural working people have occupied the height of 10 million tons of grains by vigorously pressing ahead with the tasks for technical revolution in the rural community and the chuche-oriented farming method presented in the thesis on socialist rural affairs in our

country and have laid firm material and technical foundation for the rural economy. [applause]

Our brave construction workers have wonderfully carried out the vast tasks that the party had assigned to the basic construction field during the Second 7-Year Plan and have erected a large number of monumental creations in various parts of the country. [applause]

The foundation of the socialist national economy of self-reliance has been further hardened and the economic might of the country has been incomparably strengthened as a result of the brilliant implementation of the Second 7-Year Plan through the heroic struggle of our working class and all the working people in the country under the leadership of our party. [applause]

Not only has our working class and all the working people brilliantly completed the Second 7-Year Plan in all sectors, but they have also achieved great successes in implementing economic tasks over the past years of the adjustment period. Over the past 2 years, we have further firmly organized the fuel and energy bases in the country, strengthened the technology and equipment of railroad transportation still further, and have laid a firm foundation capable of advancing the technological revolution onto a new higher stage by concentrating efforts on developing the machine industry.

Also, a firm prospect capable of hastening the fulfillment ahead of schedule of the 10 major long-range targets of socialist economic construction presented by our party and of more smoothly solving the problem of feeding clothing, and sheltering has been unfolded thanks to firmly pressing ahead with unprecedented large-scale major construction projects by concentrating national strength on them.

In particular, our sage People's Army soldiers and construction workers have provided long-lasting national treasures to make the fatherland wealthy and strong and to achieve prosperity for generations to come by brilliantly completing construction of the Sohae lockgate, unprecedentedly large construction, by our design, our technology, and our own materials, within a short period of time. [applause] This is a powerful demonstration of the inexhaustible creative talents and heroic spirit of our working class, which is energetically advancing, creating great miracles under the leadership of our party, as well as a demonstration of the might of our socialist national economy of self-reliance with chuche-oriented industry as its backbone. [applause]

By advancing socialist economic construction at a constantly high rate, our people have now reached a high peak where the complete victory of socialism is seen closer at hand, and our country is now able to more convincingly display the might of a prosperous socialist power. [applause]

All these brilliant achievements in socialist economic construction are the result of the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il-song, the great leader of our party and people, and a priceless fruition of the devoted labor struggle of

our working class, which is dynamically advancing under the leadership of the party. [applause]

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, basing himself on the immortal chuche idea, has always presented the most correct and unique lines and policies for socialist construction in a timely manner and has seen to it that these lines and policies are thoroughly implemented by energetically organizing and mobilizing our people.

Trusting our working class as pillars of the nation, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has always placed it at the forefront of the revolution and construction and vigorously led it so as to make it vigorously advance toward the high peak of socialism upholding the banner of the three revolutions-- ideological, technical, and cultural. [applause]

The great leader has always working out lines and policies based on our working class and working masses and saw to it that they successfully carry out all tasks assigned to them, braving difficulties by organizing and mobilizing their inexhaustible wisdom and strength, while wisely leading them so that they can effect upsurges in socialist construction without interruption. [applause]

The great leader's wise leadership has always raised the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative positiveness of our working class without interruption, has kept all the country seething with revolutionary upsurges, and has always served as a source of the indomitable strength that has enabled the working class to effect new changes and achieve great victories in socialist construction through its continued renovation and advances. [applause]

Our party saw to it that economic work was brought close to party work and that the party's leadership over the economic construction became stronger and has encouraged our working class and the entire working people to uninterrupted labor exploits y having the propaganda about the party's economic policy and economic agitation carried out vigorously at all sites of socialist construction.

At every major period of socialist economic construction, our party has presented revolutionary struggle slogans; vigorously stirred up the masses; and saw to it that the three revolutions work team movement, the movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions, and the movement to emulate the examples set by the unsung heroes are launched tenaciously so as to effect new upsurges in all fields of ideology, technology, and culture and to fill the country with the inexhaustible loyalty to the party and leader and lively revolutionary spirit. [applause]

Our party has seen to it that the revolutionary methods of the speed battle are thoroughly carried out and the movement to create the speed of the eighties is launched on all fronts of socialist construction; our party has led our working class to bravely overcome all difficulties and ordeals with a

high degree of militant spirit and revolutionary passion, to energetically produce breakthroughs for socialist economic construction, and to keep achieving high speed in production and construction. [applause]

The shining exploits and the great victories achieved by our working class and our people respectively in the struggle to complete the Second 7-Year Plan and to achieve still higher goals, including the Komdok working class which has built a large-scale modern ore-dressing equipment capable of processing 10 million tons of ore per year, the heroic construction workers who have displayed the resourcefulness and the stately appearance of the chuche Korea by erecting the world-renowned Sohae lockgate within a short period of time, and of the working classes in Yongsong and Nagwon who have demonstrated the might of our industry by producing a 10,000-ton press and a 6,000 square meter oxygen separator are all proud successes attained thanks to the outstanding and tested leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's energetic guidance. [applause]

Our working class and the entire working people who, under the tested leadership of the party, have attained brilliant victory and proud successes in the glorious struggle to realize the great leader's high will and his long-range intentions and who are now enjoying a proud and happy life under the great considerations of our party are full of a fiery determination to make their high honor as the revolutionary fighter endlessly loyal to the party and leader shine further by achieving still greater victory in today's socialist economic construction.

By reflecting the fiery loyalty of the entire working class and working people in our country, I offer the highest form of honor and warmest gratitude to the great leader of our people, Comrade Kim Il-song, and our glorious party who have illuminated the brilliant future of socialism and communism for our people with the dazzling rays of the chuche idea and who have led our working class on a victorious road to glory, happiness, and prosperity by making it the leading class of the revolution, together with the entire participants in the meeting. [applause]

Comrades, our nation's socialist construction has now entered the stage of a new great turning point, and unprecedentedly enormous and magnificent tasks of struggle are laid before us.

In his historic policy speech at the First Session of the 8th SPA, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song extensively systematized the idea and theory on the complete victory of socialism and put forward magnificent programs to implement them. [applause]

The great leader's policy speech, which elucidated the straight road to communism, is a great program for socialist and communist construction and is an invincible revolutionary banner which vigorously inspires our party and people to new exploits and heroic struggle. [applause]

We should further expedite the complete victory of socialism by upholding the great leader's historic policy speech and by thoroughly accomplishing the programmatic tasks put forward by the congratulatory message of the party Central Committee.

To win the complete victory of socialism, we should vigorously push ahead with socialist economic construction, and the important task in doing this is to successfully carry out the Third 7-Year Plan. This plan is a great economic construction program to realize the profound ideas advanced by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song to build a wealthy socialist fatherland and to further glorify the era of the Workers' Party led by our glorious party. [applause]

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The basic task in the Third 7-Year Plan is to firmly realize the material and technological foundation for the complete victory of socialism by continuously and vigorously accelerating the chuche orientation, modernization, and scientization of the national economy.

The Third 7-Year Plan, a magnificent program for socialist construction, is a brilliant blueprint designed to accomplish the 10 prospective goals of socialist economic construction. The third 7-Year Plan includes the profound ideas of the great leader and our party to enable our country to splendidly enter the ranks of the advanced nations of the world at an early date in economic development by embodying the revolutionary policy of the speed battle, by accelerating the development of our national economy, and by developing production capabilities. [applause]

In the course of carrying out plans of developing the national economy many times in the past, our people turned out country, which was economically backward, into a mighty socialist industrial country in a short historic period by always putting forward lofty goals of struggle and rapidly accelerating the economic construction. Thus, our people realized a firm foundation to further accelerate socialist economic construction. Based on the firm foundation of the nation's self-reliant socialist economy, we will achieve the 10 prospective foals of socialist economic construction elucidated by the 6th WPK Congress and will attain the 1.9 times growth of total industrial production and more than 1.4 times growth of agricultural production.

At the end of the Third 7-Year Plan, our country will produce yearly 100 billion kilowatts of electricity, 120 million tons of coal, 10 million tons of steel, 1.7 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 22 million tons of cement, 17.2 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 1.5 billion meters of fabrics, 11 million tons of marine products, and 15 million tons of grain. During the plan period, we will reclaim 300,000 chongbo of land. [applause]

When the Third 7-Year Plan is accomplished, our nation will either reach or exceed the standard of the advanced nations of the world in per capita production of major industrial products. This shows that the Third 7-Year

Plan is a great economic construction program which will strengthen the economic might of our Republic and which foresees the speed of growth unseen in the development of the Republic.

The Third 7-Year Plan is a great technological innovation plan which foresees the realization of overall technological reform of the national economy by rapidly developing the nation's technology. The Third 7-Year Plan foresees the promotion of the nation's scientific and technological standard to that of the world in a short period of time by directing great strength to scientific and technological development.

Based on the rapid development of the machine industry, micro-electronic industry, automation industry, and robot industry during the new prospective plan period, we will modernize old and outdated facilities and will highly modernize all domains of the national economy by realizing the mechanization, automation, robotization, and computerization of production processes.

When the Third 7-Year Plan is accomplished, the overall technological and equipment standards of the national economy will be unprecedentedly enhanced, and we will climb the high peak which mankind has reached in scientific and technological development and will attain a constantly rapid development of production. Thus, we will register a new turning point in fulfilling the historic task to free the workers from arduous and difficult work. [applause]

The Third 7-Year Plan is a rewarding economic construction plan which foresees the epochal promotion of the people's welfare. Embodied in this plan are our party's lofty intention and profound idea of ensuring a richer and more cultured life for our people. [applause]

The new prospective plan foresees a smoother resolution of the issues of food, clothing, and shelter by rapidly developing the rural economy, fisheries, and light industry and by large-scale building of modern dwellings. This plan also foresees the enhancement of our people's overall living standard to a higher stage.

When the Third 7-Year Plan is accomplished, we will have enhanced the people's living standard to a high level corresponding to a socialist society with complete victory, and our people will truly enjoy a richer and more cultural life in all fields. [applause]

Indeed, the Third 7-Year Plan is a new brilliant design and a magnificent goal for socialist economic construction to strengthen our nation's economic might, to occupy the lofty fortress of science and technology, and to more smoothly provide the people with independent and creative life conditions. [applause]

The successful accomplishment of the Third 7-Year Plan is of great significance in the struggle of our party and people for the victory of the socialist and communist cause. The successful accomplishment of the Third 7-Year Plan will bring about a new decisive turning point in attaining the complete victory of socialism by unprecedentedly strengthening the might of our

self-reliant socialist national economy and by epochally enhancing the people's living standard. [applause]

We will further strengthen the material forces for the independent reunification of the nation by successfully attaining the magnificent targets of the Third 7-Year Plan. This will further encourage the South Korean people who are tenaciously struggling for national reunification against the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique, chanting anti-U.S. and antifascist slogans for independence. [applause]

Indeed, the Third 7-Year Plan unfolded by our party is a rewarding and glorious task of struggle to strengthen the might of the DPRK, the glorious fatherland, and a banner for our people's freedom, independence, and prosperity to more properly ensure our people's independent and creative life and to expedite the complete victory of socialism and the cause of national reunification. [applause]

Today, our party demands that all domains of the national economy mobilize themselves fully and advance to successfully accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan --a new magnificent program in socialist construction.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: All guidance functionaries and all workers should rise as one of the struggle to carry out the Third 7-Year Plan and should register a new upsurge in socialist economic construction.

Our working class and all the workers should vigorously demonstrate the glory and might of chuche Korea once again by devotedly struggling with boundless loyalty to the great leader and to the party and lofty revolutionary zeal and by brilliantly accomplishing the Third 7-Year Plan. [applause]

In accomplishing the Third 7-Year Plan, the production capability in the domain of major industries should be decisively increased.

The major industries are the basis for overall development of national economy, and the working class in the domain of major industries is a main offensive unit in charge of the most important front in socialist construction.

The important heights of the national economy, including the heights of electricity, coal, steel, non-ferrous metals, chemical fertilizers, and cement, are located on this front. Therefore, accomplishing the 10 prospective goals in socialist economic construction and carrying out the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule greatly depend on how our working class struggles in the domain of major industries.

Only when the leading role of major industries is enhanced and the domain of major industries seethes with working spirit can all other sectors become vigorous, and only when the domain of major industries effects an upsurge can all other domains register an overall upsurge.

The working class and all workers in the domain of major industries should brilliantly accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan by vigorously struggling and cherishing the sense of responsibility and lofty honor for being in charge of the most important front in socialist construction. Thus, they should fully demonstrate a sense of ardent loyalty to the great leader and our party.
[applause]

To effect a new upsurge in the domain of major industries, all plants and enterprises in this domain should fulfill the glorious tasks assigned them without fail and vigorously dash forward to the front of the grand march.

In accelerating the development of major industries, it is important to renovate and expand the existing industrial bases and to build new modern industrial bases on a large scale, thus epochally increasing the production capability in major industries.

All plants and enterprises should reform the outdated facilities into more effective and modern facilities by correctly establishing the steps and goals to create production capability and should boldly and on a large scale carry out the work of replacing outdated production lines with advanced ones.

In order to decisively increase the production capability of major industries, construction of new modern plants and enterprises should be accelerated. We should vigorously push ahead with construction of large-scale energy bases, mines, large-scale, ferrous metal bases, modern mechanical industry bases, electronics and automation bases, as well as the new bases for construction materials industry which are included in the Third 7-Year Plan.

While drastically expanding the industrial bases, we should further expand the production of major industries by effectively using materials and by fully mobilizing all reserves and potentials. Thus, we should victoriously occupy the important heights in major industries which have decisive significance in accomplishing the Third 7-Year Plan and occupying the loftier heights of socialism.

Rapidly developing traffic and transportation is one of the priority tasks in accomplishing the new prospective goals. Only when our transportation fighters smoothly ensure the rapidly increasing demand of transportation can we successfully occupy the important heights of major industries and accomplish the lofty goals of the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule.
[applause]

All workers and functionaries in the traffic and transportation domain should accelerate the modernization of railway transportation by upholding the party's policy for transportation revolution and should further consolidate its materials and technological foundation. The transportation fighters and railway builders should complete the electrification of railways and further develop the concentrated transport, containerized transport, and joint transport during the new prospective plan period and should accelerate and complete the construction of new railways including the northern district

railway and the heavy-duty railway and doubling-tracking in the blocks where cargo freight is heaviest. Thus, they should rapidly increase the capacity of railway transportation.

In the transportation sector, ship and truck transport should be further developed to smoothly ensure the demand in the national economy, and efforts should be made to reduce the burden of railways.

One of the most important tasks which should be resolved during the Third 7-Year Plan period is to epochally enhance the people's living standard.
[applause]

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: We should enhance the people's overall living standard onto a higher stage by smoothly resolving the questions of food, clothing, and housing for the people during the new prospective plan period.

The most honorable and lofty work for the party of the working class, which is struggling to build socialism and communism, is to constantly upgrade the people's living standard. Only when the people's living standard is enhanced constantly by properly carrying out socialist construction, can the genuine superiority of socialist system be clearly demonstrated and can the independent and creative life be smoothly ensured for the people.

It is our party's firm determination to enhance the people's living standard onto a higher stage in a short time based on the existing firm foundation of self-reliant socialist national economy in our country.

The most important task in epochally enhancing the people's living standard during the Third 7-Year Plan period is to further increase the agricultural production, increasing grains. [applause]

Only when sufficient foods are provided in the nation by properly carrying out farming can the people's living standard be enhanced and can the overall socialist construction be vigorously accelerated.

Rice is communism. Upholding the party's policy of putting agriculture first, we should direct all our strength to farming and vigorously wage the struggle to attain the heights of grain in the new prospective plan. To effect a new upsurge in agricultural production, the support of the working class for agricultural workers should be further strengthened.

Under the powerful support of industry, we should further consolidate the existing achievements in introducing the irrigation system and electrification into the rural economy and should actively struggle to rapidly complete the comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization of rural economy.

The functionaries and the working people in the machine industry sector should produce and supply various efficient, modern farm machines, including tractors, and various kinds of water pumping facilities, including water

pumps, transformers, and motors, in greater quantities. The working people in the chemical industry sector should decisively increase fertilizer production by readjusting and strengthening chemical fertilizer plants in a timely manner and by operating chemical fertilizer plant facilities at full capacity. They should also produce and supply sufficient amounts of chemical fertilizer and agricultural chemicals so that they can be applied in a timely manner and in conformity with the demands of the chuche-oriented farm method.

We should actively industrialize agriculture and continuously strengthen support by the entire party, the whole country, and all of the people for rural villages by accelerating the technological revolution in the rural area along the road of our country's socialist rural thesis, the platform of building socialist and communist rural villages, which was set forth by the great leader. Thus, we should rapidly develop all sectors of the rural economy and expedite the historic task of eliminating class. [applause]

In our country, which is surrounded by sea on three sides, developing the fisheries industry is very important in smoothly resolving food problems. [applause]

The working people and functionaries in the fisheries industry should extensively develop deep-sea fishery, in-shore fishery, and small-scale fishing, modernize and standardize fishing boats, and extensively introduce scientific fishing methods in order to catch more fish.

The most important task in the fisheries industry sector during the new long-range plan is to thoroughly implement the party's plan of epochally increasing the production of seaweed and by greatly developing in-shore cultivation. All of the working people and functionaries in the fisheries industry sector should build many in-shore farms everywhere during the Third 7-Year Plan period and should decisively increase the production of seaweed, including kelp, brown seaweed, and laver. Along with this, they should build more modern marine products processing bases and storage facilities so that caught fish can be processed in a timely manner and the processing of marine plants can be further developed.

To improve the standard of the people's living, we should bring about a new change in the production of people's consumer goods by thoroughly implementing the party's policy of carrying out the revolution in light industry. [applause]

The working class and working people in the light industry sector, by operating the existing light industry plants at full capacity, by maintaining production at a high level, and by building more new light industry plants, should achieve the fabric goals in the Third 7-Year Plan in advance. They should also produce modern cultural items, other household goods such as furniture and kitchen utensils, and various kinds of daily necessities in greater quantities and should epochally increase the production of processed foodstuffs.

In order to rapidly increase the production of people's consumer goods, it is imperative to effect innovations in the local industry sector. [applause]

All plants and enterprises in the local industry sector should produce more varied daily necessities and good-quality processed foodstuffs by fully mobilizing locally available raw materials and resources. They should also more properly meet the increasing demands of the people for consumer goods by more vigorously waging the 3 August movement for production of people's consumer goods.

Accelerating major construction projects is one of the most important tasks in strengthening the country's economic might and, in particular, in more smoothly enhancing the people's living. [applause]

According to the far-sighted plan of the great leader and our party, the construction of 300,000 chongbo of reclaimed tideland, the construction of the Sunchon vinylon complex with the capacity of 100,000 tons, the construction of the large-scale Sariwon potassium fertilizer complex, the construction of Kwangju Street in Pyongyang, and many other major construction projects are being accelerated in our country.

Major construction projects which are now being accelerated according to the far-sighted plan of the great leader and the party and under their wise leadership are not only a great task to build monumental edifices which are of epochal significance in establishing the firm foundation for prosperity of the nation and for happiness of our descendants, but are also an important and rewarding task to epochally improve the standard of the people's living by more smoothly resolving the people's food, clothing, and housing problems. [applause]

Once major construction projects have been completed, the appearance of the land will completely change; our country will be turned into a civilized paradise of the people, a better place in which to live, and a great new turn will be effected in the people's living.

All functionaries and the working people should more vigorously rise up with firm determination to brilliantly implement our party's grand plan and should rapidly accelerate and complete ongoing major construction projects.

KPA soldiers and construction workers who are accelerating major construction projects should create a new construction speed at their construction sites by emulating the fighting spirit and work habit demonstrated by the Sohae lockgate construction workers and by demonstrating matchless devotion and massive heroism in their rewarding struggle for national prosperity and for the happy life of the people. [applause]

In particular, construction workers engaging in major construction projects should take the party's goals as an absolute basis and demonstrate the revolutionary spirit of implementing this goal, without fail, by date, by 10-

day period, and by month. Thus, they should brilliantly implement the grand construction goal of our party.

Major construction projects that we are building are precious assets for our people's happiness today and prosperity tomorrow. Accordingly, all construction workers should firmly guarantee the highest-quality construction projects by displaying loyalty to the party and lofty patriotism and by reflecting this loyalty and patriotism even in laying a piece of brick and in assembling a machine.

Major construction projects are works involving remolding nature and, therefore, are very difficult tasks. Accordingly, this task can be successfully implemented only when we strengthen the support of the entire society.

All sectors of the national economy, including the metal industry, the building materials industry, and the machine industry, should preferentially produce and supply steel materials, cement, highly efficient construction machinery and facilities, and good-quality plant facilities, which are required in major construction projects, in a timely manner and without fail.

Along with this, all sectors of the national economy should unanimously turn out in response to the party's appeal calling for the entire party, the whole country, and all the people to vigorously support major construction projects. Thus, they should vigorously carry out the social support work of more properly guaranteeing the working and living conditions of construction workers.

The construction of dwellings is a very important work to provide better living conditions to the peoples. Our party has unfolded the great blueprint to effect a great innovation in constructing dwellings and has firmly built modern building materials production bases, including silicalcite brick plants, everywhere. [applause]

Following the grand plan of the party, we should actively carry out the construction of dwellings in urban and rural areas during the new long-range plan. Thus, we should build new, modern dwellings for 150,000-200,000 households every year and, thus, should completely resolve the people's housing problem and completely change the appearance of the country.

In order to resolve the housing problem more smoothly, the construction of dwellings should be vigorously waged as a massive movement. Therefore, all organs and enterprises should actively discover and mobilize locally available building materials, idle materials, and labor reserves and should vigorously wage the struggle to build many dwellings by utilizing these materials.

Developing science and technology is one of the basic tasks of the Third 7-Year Plan. [applause]

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The most important problem in carrying out the Third 7-Year Plan is to develop science and technology and to vigorously accelerate the technological reform of the national economy by strengthening the technological innovation movement.

The present era is the era of science and technology. Increasing production based on developed science and technology has become the basic trend of the development of the world's economy. Rapidly and constantly developing science and technology is a firm guarantee for accelerating socialist and communist construction and for the grandeur and prosperity of the country and the nation. [applause]

Our country's reality, in which socialist construction is being vigorously waged at a new high stage, more urgently than ever before demands that science and technology be rapidly developed.

What is urgently required in all sectors and units of socialist construction today is modern science and technology. Therefore, without achieving constant progress in the development of science and technology, the vast task of the long-range plan cannot be successfully achieved.

Our party has set forth the high goal of boosting the country's science and technology up to the world's level and has spurred the entire party and all of the people to fulfill it. [applause]

Upholding the intent of the party, we should more vigorously life up the banner of technological revolution and wage a great onward battle to occupy the high hill of science and technology that mankind has reached.

All functionaries and working people should firmly grasp the line of making the national economy chuche-oriented, modernized, and scientific; should effect innovations in the technology of developing and using raw materials, fuel, and power; should constantly modernize technological provisions by rapidly developing the machine industry, the electronics industry, and the automation industry; and should vigorously wage the struggle to make all production activities scientific. [applause]

An important problem in rapidly developing the country's science and technology is to have a correct viewpoint on science and technology. In other words, all functionaries should have the firm stand and viewpoint that without developing science and technology, the country's economy cannot progress even one step forward. They should always pay deep interest in developing science and technology and should actively struggle against all sorts of old ideologies, including passivism, conservatism, and technological mysticism which hinder the development of science and technology. [applause]

Among our scientists and technicians, there are a number of unsung heroes and unheralded persons of merit who silently dedicate their lives to the road of scientific research without expecting any remuneration or reputation, only for the party, the leader, the nation, and the people.

Our party and people take great pride in having a large number of scientists and technicians who loyally serve the fatherland and peoples. [applause]

When a new march starts for the development of science and technology, our party demands that scientists and technicians enhance their responsibility and role more highly than ever before. All scientists and technicians should always register new scientific creations and technological inventions, cherishing a lofty pride and a sense of responsibility as well as endless loyalty to the party and the leader and dedicated uncommon passion for research. Thus, they should truly contribute to the prosperity of the nation and people.

Scientists and technicians should become the shock brigade in resolving problems that arise in implementing the Third 7-Year Plan and should demonstrate the honor as innovators and forerunners in pioneering the sector of ultramodern science and in occupying the fortress of modern science and technology, thus displaying the wisdom and ability of the Korean people. [applause]

The shock brigade movement of scientists and technicians initiated by our party is a mass innovation movements which combined science and technology with practical implementation of production and embodies the principle of the speed battle in scientific research work. [applause]

Scientists and technicians should strengthen the creative cooperation with producer masses by actively participating in shock brigade movements, including the 15 April shock brigade movement for technological innovations. Thus, they should resolve in a timely manner scientific and technological problems that arise in production and construction and should accelerate the speed of the march for scientific and technological development.

Scientific and technological development is a work for the working masses, and waging the mass movement for technological innovations is our party's consistent policy. We should see to it that scientific invention and technological innovations are waged as a mass movement by vigorously organizing and mobilizing a broad range of producer masses in implementing the party's policy for science and technology and that a social atmosphere in which everyone makes efforts for scientific and technological development be created. Thus, new scientific inventions and plans of technological innovations and rationalization should be put forward everywhere, and a constant upsurge should be effected in production and construction amid the flames of mass technological innovations. Thus, we should decorate the significant 1980's with excellent successes in scientific and technological development. [applause]

In carrying out the Third 7-Year Plan, it is important to successfully accomplish this year's national economic plan. [applause]

This year, when we splendidly celebrate the greatest revolutionary national festivals, is a meaningful year with great significance in the history of our

nation's socialist construction and is the glorious and rewarding year during which we wage the first battle to carry out the new prospective plan. [applause]

Starting is always important in any work. Likewise, successfully accomplishing the plan of this year, the first year of the Third 7-Year Plan, is very important in the struggle to accomplish this plan ahead of schedule. Only when we accomplish this year's national economic plan can we make a breakthrough in the struggle to attain the lofty goals of the new prospective plan and effect an epochal advance in achieving the 10 prospective goals in socialist economic construction. [applause]

All domains and units of the national economy should unconditionally accomplish the goals of major products including rolled steel, coal, electricity, and chemical fertilizer and the target of railway cargo transport elucidated by the great leader by vigorously waging the struggle to accomplish this year's national economic plan. They should win the brilliant victory in the first year's struggle for the new prospective plan by overfulfilling the national plans daily, monthly, and quarterly and by index. [applause]

Comrades, the struggle to carry out the Third 7-Year Plan is a rewarding and glorious struggle through which we can again demonstrate vigorously our people's invincible creative might and chuche Korea's glory. [applause]

Making a breakthrough to victory through a bold offensive by always putting forth lofty goals of struggle is the revolutionary temperament and traditional spirit of struggle of the Korean working class and our people. [applause]

Today, reflecting our people's unanimous aspirations, our party put forward a lofty goal of struggle for all worker to accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan more than 1 and 1/2 years ahead of schedule, before 15 April 1992, which will be the most felicitous and most significant year in our nation's history. Thus, our party wants them to rise in the struggle to carry out this goal. [applause]

The will to accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule reflects today's solemn reality which is overflowing with a new great revolutionary upsurge and the revolutionary spirit of our nation which is making continuous advances and innovations with the spirit of adding the speed battle to Chollima. This is a unanimous demand of our working class and all the workers who rose in implementing the new prospective plan. [applause]

In upholding our party's appeal, all sectors and units of the national economy should vigorously wage a general mobilization to accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan 1 and 1/2 years ahead of schedule. [applause]

In order to accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule, all functionaries and workers should highly demonstrate their loyalty to the party and the leader.

Dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il has indicated: The source of might which generates the sense of matchless dedication and heroism is loyalty to the party and the leader. The decisive guarantee for implementing the new prospective plan is to vigorously inspire the workers' ideology, and the basic factor in this is the loyalty to the party and the leader. [applause]

Our people's loyalty to the party and the leader is based on the revolutionary faith and principle and is the most firm and sincerest loyalty, which never changes. [applause]

Upholding the respected leader as the center of their unity from the outset of the Korean revolution, our people achieved a great tradition of loyalty. They believe that glorying such a tradition generation after generation is the firm guarantee for all our victories and the accomplishment of the chuche cause and is their revolutionary faith. [applause]

Learning from the noble example of young communists who unhesitatingly dedicated everything to the chuche revolutionary cause by upholding the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song as the lodestar of the Korean revolution and the sun of the nation during the dark days of national ordeal, we should firmly prepare ourselves to be the genuine chuche-oriented communist revolutionaries who endlessly dedicate their loyalty to the party and the leader by upholding the great leader and our glorious party center. [applause]

The loyalty to the party and the leader should be demonstrated in practical struggle to tenaciously defend and implement the lines and policies put forward by the party and the leader. Nothing is more glorious for our working class and people than to defend and implement the teachings of the great leader and the party's policy--the embodiment of such teachings. It is a proud tradition of the Korean working class to become the vanguard and shock brigade in implementing the party's policy. [applause]

Our working class built the new Democratic Korea by defending and protecting the great leader and loudly singing the song of General Kim Il-song after vigorously rising with the hammer of national reconstruction when various class enemies and reactionaries viciously maneuvered against our party's lines and policies after the national liberation. Our working class also reported confidently to the great leader, who visited them in dense gunsmoke during the arduous war time, that we will undertake reconstruction work after being victorious in the war. It is our working class and ensured the wartime production even amid the flames of war and who unyieldingly struggled to make preparations for the postwar rehabilitation construction. [applause]

Warmly receiving the great leader's teaching in the postwar days that if 10,000 tons or more of steel materials were available, the nation would be

relieved, our working class, who are loyal to the call of the party and the leader, tenaciously defended and protected the party's lines and policies by crushing the maneuvers of the anti-party, anti-revolutionary factionalists and demonstrated the justness of the party's policy by the grand Chollima advance movement. [applause]

Indeed, the ardent loyalty and unyielding revolutionary spirit of our working class, who defended and protected the party and the leader politically and ideologically and with their lives and who unconditionally implemented the party's lines and policies to the end, have been brilliantly safeguarded and inherited on the road along which the revolution advanced by overcoming various trials and difficulties. Their loyalty and spirit have today become the traits and life of the Korean working class. [applause]

The source of might which effected a great miracle of the 1980's by completing the construction of the world-scale Sohae lockgate, building a 20-ri-long breakwater, in only 5 years, is absolute trust in the party's policy and unconditional loyalty to the order and directives of the party and the leader.

We should further glorify the proud tradition of boundless loyalty to the party and the leader through the struggle for socialist economic construction and toward the order and directives of the party which overflowed in the construction site of the Sohae lockgate, and should wage a loyal struggle to occupy the heights of the new prospective plan absolutely and unconditionally.

To successfully accomplish the Third 7-Year Plan, we should advance by holding higher the banner of the great chuche ideology and the revolutionary banner of self-reliance. The chuche idea--the great leader's revolutionary idea--the great guidance idea of our party and revolution and is an ever-victorious invincible revolutionary banner. [applause]

The chuche idea is the sacred revolutionary banner that led our party and people along the victorious path in the entire course of the Korean revolution which advanced by overcoming immeasurable trials and ordeals. To successfully carry out the difficult and enormous tasks facing us in socialist construction with our own strength by coping with the circumstances created at home and abroad, all functionaries and workers should arm themselves more firmly with the chuche ideology of our party and should have firm faith in the justness of the party's lines and policies--the embodiment of this idea.

We should become the thoroughgoing defenders and protectors of the chuche idea and the tenacious executors of the party's lines and policies. We should have firm traits and the position to carry out all works without wavering and only according to the demand of the chuche idea and in our own way and should advance only along the path indicated by the chuche idea--our party's revolutionary idea. [applause]

The spirit of self-reliance is a revolutionary spirit and the principle of struggle of the communists who are striving to carry out the revolution and construction with their own strength to the end. Upholding the revolutionary

banner of self-reliance, our people twice won the glorious victory in the arduous revolutionary wars against the Japanese and U.S. imperialist aggressors and built a mighty socialist state with independence, self-reliance, and self-defense in this land where nothing was left by victoriously advancing the unfamiliar road of building a new society with empty hands. [applause]

The creative labor struggle of the working class in Nagwon and Yongsong, who manufactured the modern large-scale oxygen separator and the 10,000-ton press with their own strength and of our scientists and technicians who are advancing to occupy the lofty fortress of science and technology by upholding the policy of chuche-orientation, modernization, and scientization of the national economy clearly shows that when the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is highly demonstrated, there is nothing that cannot be achieved.

We should constantly create new miracles by courageously overcoming difficulties and ordeals with such a revolutionary spirit as that of the members of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army who smashed the Japanese imperialist aggressors by making the Yongil bombs with their bare hands and of those who succeeded in making automobiles and tractors for the first time in our country with their own strength. [applause]

Fully mobilizing the internal reserves and vigorously waging the struggle for increased production and economization are important methods for effecting a constant upsurge in socialist economic construction with existing manpower, existing facilities, and existing materials and for successfully accomplishing the new prospective plan. The production potentials for the self-reliant socialist economy realized in our country are very great and we have reserves everywhere.

Just as all the people mobilized all the resources fully throughout the nation by upholding the party's appeal to increase production and to economize on materials to the maximum during the period of great Chollima upsurge after the war, all sectors and all units should fully discover the reserves and should wage a pan-national movement to produce and build more. [applause]

The Mangyongdae machine tool plant normalized production by saving some 40 tons of coal each month, by waging the loyal mass movement initiated by our party to discover internal reserves, and recovering some 10 tons of rolled steel from scrap iron disposal points. Samchong County contributed greatly to enhancing the people's living standard by making all functionaries and workers rise with one intention in the work of organizing the 350-chongbo base of raw materials of farm products and the 100-chongbo base of resources and raw materials with their own strength and without depending on the state resources and raw materials with their own strength and by producing 850 tons of raw materials last year alone. Their exemplary experiences show clearly that if we inspire the people's ideology and keenly carry out the organizational work according to the party's intention, we can rapidly increase production by discovering more new reserves.

We should vigorously stage in every corner of the country the movement to locate and mobilize all dormant to undeveloped reserves, while attempting to use fuel available in our country and produce raw materials and materials on our own with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and consciousness befitting masters of the state.

In particular, it is imperative to make the movement of loyalty to locate inner reserves more organized and, by having the vast producing masses actively participate in this movement, to mobilize all the resources in the country for socialist construction amid the flames of this movement. In order to vigorously organize and mobilize the working people to the implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan, it is imperative to vigorously launch a revolutionary mass movement under the banner of the three revolutions--ideological, technical, and cultural.

All of the great events and world-renowned miracles embroidered in the proud annals of our fatherland have, without exception, been attained through the revolutionary mass movement launched vigorously under the banner of the three revolutions. The key to today's mass movement is to develop and deepen the movement of the three revolutions work teams and the movement to carry the red flag of the three revolutions onto a new high stage according to the demands of the developing reality.

We should further accelerate the march of the eighties under the high-flying three-piece banner of the three revolutions--ideological, technical, and cultural--by adhering firmly to the movement of the three revolutions work teams and the movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions so as to make this movement fully display its vitality in the implementation of the three revolutions and socialist construction. [applause]

Members of the three revolutions work team are not only the vanguard units of the three revolutions sent to the spot thanks to the trust of the great leader and party, but are also the core force of our party which is thoroughly defending and implementing the party's policies at the forefront of the masses. [applause]

All members of the three revolutions work team should make the flames of the ideological, technical, and cultural revolutions burn more fiercely at every site of socialist construction by defending and implementing the three revolutions lines with a high degree of revolution-mindedness and actively organize and mobilize the producing masses for the implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan by making themselves the forerunners of the renovation movement and standardbearers of the struggle.

All sectors and units should create a social atmosphere concerning the movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions, set resolved targets that can be attained, do a good job of summing up and assessing the execution and status of such targets, fill society with a revolutionary spirit amid the flames of this movement, and then see to it that renovations and miracles are created in every corner of the country.

The movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions is the highest form of a mass movement to remold the ideology, technology, and culture as well as a mass movement in which the entire population participates. We should launch various forms of mass movement, including the movement to emulate the examples set by unsung heroes, substantively and more actively according to the high demands of the movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions.

A communist spirit--devotion to work from generation to generation in the revolutionary guard posts assigned by the party without expecting honor or compensation--is highly displayed today among the working people. [applause]

Today's reality in which the number of families of workers--father and two sons, father and three sons, father and four sons, and father and five sons--working in the sectors of hardest working conditions, such as the blind end in the underground mine gallery, increasingly demonstrates the proud aspect of our society in which the flower of loyalty to the party and leader is fully blossoming and is the spiritual world of our working people who have been reared and educated by our party. [applause]

We should keep the ranks of the unsung heroes and people who have rendered distinguished services by faithfully upholding the party and fatherland with the fruits of their inexhaustible devotion and sincere efforts growing by continuously launching the movement to emulate the examples set by the unsung heroes. We should fill every site of socialist construction with communist (?adventure) by executing the movement to emulate the examples set by the unsung heroes in close combination with the practical struggle to implement the party policies and see to it that everyone becomes a hero and renovator in the course of carrying out the scientific and technical revolutions and the creation of the speed of the eighties. [applause]

To accelerate socialist economic construction, it is imperative to make a good job of conducting the work with facilities--the weapon for production--and what is important in this regard is to vigorously launch the movement of creating the example unit set of facilities designed to emulate the example set by the No 26 lathe unit. We should maintain all machine facilities substantively and keep the ranks of the model unit set of facilities, work teams of the model unit set of facilities, workshops of model unit set of facilities, and plants of model unit set of facilities swelling without interruption by further vigorously launching the movement to create the model unit set of facilities of loyalty to emulate the examples set by the No 26 lathe unit, cherishing deeply the party's demands that facilities be maintained in good condition.

In particular, all sectors of the national economy should work out struggle targets designed to modernize and reform outmoded production facilities in response to the modern trend of scientific and technical development, further reform the production facilities by deepening and developing this movement onto a higher stage, and brilliantly achieve the cause of reforming the technology of the national economy as a whole.

The socialist competition movement is a major means to vigorously organize and mobilize the working people o socialist economic construction. Only when the socialist competition movement is vigorously launched can the speed of the eighties be created and upsurges be effected without interruption in socialist economic construction.

We should make the entire country seethe with an atmosphere of creation and renovations, as in the Chollima era of the great upsurges, and continue to spur the general march for the implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan by keeping the flames of socialist competition burning ever brighter under the party's slogan calling for vigorously accelerating the march of the eighties the way the Sohae lockgate was built.

It is imperative to raise the roles of such working organizations as the General Federation of Trade Unions [GFTU] and the League of Socialist Working Youth [LSWY]. The working organizations energetically help the party in socialist economic construction.

The organizations and functionaries in the working organizations should vigorously organize and mobilize the producing masses for socialist economic construction by organizing boldly and substantively various forms of mass movements that correspond to the demand of the developing reality and the characteristics of the organizations and units concerned.

The GFTU organizations should see to it that the revolutionary spirit of continued renovations and continued advance fill the air among the worker-masses by vigorously launching socialist competitions designed to hasten the implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule and the movement to create new standards and new records and keep the ranks of the labor renovators, work teams, workshops, and plants completing the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule swelling.

The LSWY organizations should see to it that hot-blooded and brave youths wonderfully play their roles vanguard units and shock-brigades in difficult guard posts of socialist economic construction and that new miracles and heroic exploits are created without interruption in every battlefield where the youths live and work by keeping the flames of the movement to win the Youth Beacon Award to complete the Third 7-Year Plan burning ever brighter.

In order to successfully implement the Third 7-Year Plan, we should decisively improve economic guidance and the management of enterprises. We should firmly safeguard the unique chuche-type socialist economic management system developed by the great leader and fully display the vitality of this system in socialist construction by thoroughly implementing it. We should thoroughly adopt the Tae'an work system in all sectors of the people's economy.
[applause]

The Tae'an work system developed by the great leader is our style and communist-type enterprise management system, and the superiority of this system has been clearly proven through the practice of socialist construction.

Under intensive guidance by the party committees, all plants and enterprises should organize economic organizational work in accordance with the requirement of the Tae'an work system and should vigorously promote the revolutionary zeal and creativity of the production masses for the struggle to implement the new long-range plan by giving priority to political work.

We should highly demonstrate the superiority of the industrial complexes provided by the great leader. The industrial complexes in our country are our style, new, and socialist-type organizational forms of enterprises which meet the requirement of the Tae'an work system.

The experiences of many industrial complexes, including the Hwanghae steel industrial complex, the Sunchon district coal mining industrial complex, and the Kyongsong porcelain company, which have normalized production on a high level by independently carrying out management activities by highly displaying creativity with the attitude of taking responsibility for production, show well that our industrial complexes have the most superior and mighty form of economic management. All functionaries should further demonstrate the superiority of industrial complexes, which have met the requirement of the Tae'an work system in economic management, and should continuously bring about upsurges in socialist economic construction.

In improving the management of enterprises, it is now important to decisively strengthen labor administration work. Only by improving labor administration work can we correctly resolve the question of labor required on all fronts and outposts of socialist construction and guarantee the successful implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan.

During the new long-range plan period, we should guarantee more than 80 percent of the increase of the total industrial production output by increasing labor productivity. By organizing labor administration work more closely, all sectors of the people's economy should decisively bring an end to the practice of wasting labor and should continuously improve the work of determining labor capacity [nodongjongyangsaop]. At the same time, by thoroughly abiding by the principle of socialist distribution, they should increase labor productivity. By strengthening indoctrination work on labor among workers, they should help them correctly observe labor discipline and regulations with a communist personality and with the correct attitude of making even a minute of labor shine with loyalty and exploits and exert an assiduous effort to effectively use the 480 minutes of labor time to the maximum.

Increasing a revolutionary spirit, party-mindedness, working-class-mindedness, and people-mindedness among functionaries and developing a revolutionary work spirit constitute an important guarantee for improving economic guidance work to meet the requirement of the development of the situation and for successfully implementing the new long-range plan. [applause]

Today, our party urges all functionaries to spontaneously join the struggle to implement the party's economic policy, to exert utmost effort in this regard,

to perform their assigned revolutionary task to the end, overcoming mounting difficulties with an invincible spirit.

Functionaries should always display the spirit of endless devotion and a high sense of responsibility in implementing the party's economic policy with the noble awareness and spirit of devoting everything to the revolution, the party, the working class, and the people.

It is our party's consistent demand that functionaries always visit lower echelons in accordance with the requirements of the great Chongsan-ri spirit and method. Under the slogan calling on the entire party to mingle with the masses of the people, all functionaries should visit the lower echelons systematically and habitually, grasp the situation at production sites personally and correctly, and responsibly resolve questions raised by lower units.

Leading personnel are at the head of the ranks in the all-out march toward implementing the Third 7-Year plan, and functionaries should always become the flag-bearers who spontaneously implement party policies ahead of others.
[applause]

Always bearing deep in their hearts our party's deep confidence in them and the people's expectation of them, all guiding functionaries should guide the masses of the people to continuous innovations and upsurges by taking the lead in wading through a fiery river and a rough and muddy path with the revolutionary spirit of Paektu and by setting examples.

The vast task of the new long-range plan and the situation of rapidly developing socialist construction calls for further strengthening the party leadership of economic construction. Party organizations and functionaries should help workers to continuously bring about revolutionary upsurges with high revolutionary zeal, with confidence, and with a high spirit by closely explaining the party's great plan for economic construction, the task and methods of implementing the new long-range plan, and the hopeful future of socialist economic construction by vigorously carrying out political propaganda and economic agitation work. At the same time, they should continuously encourage workers to bring about a new innovation and perform exploits by extensively introducing in a timely manner those groups and innovators who are advancing ahead of others in implementing the Third 7-Year Plan.

Party organizations should encourage workers and functionaries by firmly grasping the party's policy for general mobilization and by carrying out fresh and effective political work. At the same time, they should vigorously support economic work.

With the internal and external situation of the revolution so complicated and strained, we are now waging a vast struggle to implement the new long-range plan. By always assuming a vigilant posture for mobilization and by waging a magnificent struggle for peaceful construction, we should smash the aggressive

maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique to provoke a war and clearly demonstrate the inexhaustible vitality of the socialist system in our country and the invincible might of our people firmly united around the party and the leader. [applause]

The faith of our working class and all workers advancing toward the magnificent goal of the Third 7-Year Plan is firm and their spirit is high.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has brilliantly opened the road for the march of socialist construction with the bright ray of the *chuche* idea by standing at the head of the revolution and construction. The great leader is wisely leading the entire party and all of the people to the implementation of the new long-range plan. Our glorious party is vigorously spurring all of the people in the new heroic struggle and exploits with its extraordinary wisdom and excellent leadership. [applause]

We have the great strength of the heroic people, who have been firmly united and rallies around the party, and the leader as one ideological will. We have also the large corps of scientists and technicians whom our party has fostered.

The potential of the socialist self-reliant national economy which our people have built with fortitude and under the leadership of the party is very great. At the same time, our country has not only rich natural resources that can be developed and utilized anew, but also inexhaustible scientific and technological sources.

Once our party has made the firm determination and our people rise up, there will be no fortress that cannot be occupied. [applause]

The party's trust in and expectations for the working class--the core unit of our revolution--in the implementation of the new long-range plan are very great. It is indeed very honorable and rewarding for the working class, which has grown up to be the master of the country and the leading class in the bosom of the great leader and our party, to resolutely rise up to glorify the era of the Workers' Party led by our party with the great battle of socialist construction and thus to create constant innovations.

The entire working class and all of the working people should resolutely rise up with the ardent spirit that they displayed when they victoriously fulfilled the first national economic plan by surmounting all trials and difficulties immediately after national liberation and with the vigorous spirit that they displayed when they brilliantly carried out the difficult tasks of basic socialist construction and industrialization in the arduous postwar period with the great march of Chollima, while smashing the obstruction activities of the enemies. Thus, they should effect a new great revolutionary upsurge in the implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan and demonstrate to the world again the honor of *chuche* Korea which is advancing forward with the speed of the eighties. [applause]

Let all of us firmly rally around the WPK Central Committee headed by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song and vigorously struggle to successfully implement the Third 7-Year Plan and to expedite the complete victory of socialists and the brilliant future of communism by holding aloft the revolutionary banner of the chuche idea. [applause]

NODONG SINMUN Editorial

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[NODONG SINMUN 2 July editorial: "Let Us Once Again Display the Might and Honor of Chuche Korea"]

[Text] Today, our revolution and construction are vigorously advancing after entering a period of a new turn. Under the wise leadership of the party, our people, by holding the banner of the chuche idea aloft, are vigorously stepping up the three revolutions--ideological, technological, and cultural. Amid this seething struggle, an even brighter vista is opening of the future of socialist economic construction, and the political and economic might of the country is being further strengthened.

The cause of the chucheization of the entire society is being vigorously accelerated, and the flames of great revolutionary upsurge are furiously rising in socialist economic construction. It is precisely under these circumstances that, today, in Pyongyang, the revolutionary capital, the meeting for general mobilization to carry out the Third 7-Year Plan opens amid the great interest and expectations of the people across the country.

The meeting will discuss the tasks of struggle to further intensify the struggle to fulfill the great new long-range plan ahead of schedule through the general mobilization of the working class and working people of the country under the militant appeal of the party and to effect a great new upswing in the socialist construction.

The meeting, which is being held amid the great interest of our party and the great expectations of all people, is being participated in by the working class of many sectors of the people's economy, soldiers of the People's Army, agricultural working people, scientists, technicians, members of the three revolution teams, and guidance functionaries who performed great feats in fulfilling the Second 7-Year Plan and in the struggle to fulfill the plan for the first half of the first year of the Third 7-Year Plan.

Today, all party members and working people extend warm congratulations to the meeting for general mobilization through which our credible forerunners, who have performed at the socialist construction sites by upholding the call of the party and the leader, will discuss the tasks of struggle to make a new turn in the struggle to win the complete victory of socialism and to glorify the glorious chuche era, the era of the Worker's Party, with even greater victory and achievement.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: All guidance functionaries and working people must selflessly struggle with boundless loyalty to the party and the revolution and with lofty zeal. By so doing, they must brilliantly fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan and display the might and honor of chuche Korea once again.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, at the first session of the Eighth SPA, put forth the militant task to mobilize the entire party, the whole country, and all people to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan.

The struggle to attain the vast goals of the Third 7-Year Plan of the development of the people's economy--this is a rewarding advance to brilliantly inherit the tradition of the history of the great chollima upsurge established by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and display the new spirit of Korea triumphant and advancing under the leadership of the party.

The meeting for general mobilization is an significant meeting to spur this rewarding advance and further glorify the history of great upsurge. The meeting will, above all, vigorously encourage our people to the struggle to consolidate the gains won under the wise leadership of the party and the leader during the Second 7-Year Plan and during the adjustment period, and to win even greater victory. By so doing, it will provide an opportunity of a new epochal turn in the struggle to win the complete victory of socialism and achieve the cause of the fatherland's reunification.

At the same time, the meeting will drastically strengthen the political and ideological might of our revolutionary ranks by expanding the ranks of forerunners boundlessly loyal to the party and the leader. It will further make bloom the noble intent of the party to have the entire society filled with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, arduous struggle, and advancement.

The significant objectives of the meeting are to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of the schedule and to make an epochal turn in attaining the great 10 long-range goals put forth by the Sixth Party Congress by effecting a great upswing in socialist economic construction once again. This is a reflection of the revolutionary spirit of our fatherland innovating and advancing continuously with the spirit of chollima waging a speed battle, and the unanimous will of our working class and working people to brilliantly fulfill the far-reaching plan and operational intent of our party, come what may.

Today, we are in a significant period in which we must make socialist construction reach an even higher stage based on the successes we have won. Our heroic working class and working people, by waging an unyielding struggle to implement the decision of the Sixth Party Congress and create the speed of the seventies, triumphantly fulfilled the Second 7-Year Plan on time. Through the struggle to fulfill the Second 7-Year Plan and the economic plan of the adjustment period, our industry advanced along the road of ceaseless growth, and its appearance drastically changed. The overall people's economy has become more chuche-oriented, more modernized, and more scientific, and we

have reached a high ridge where we can view the complete victory of socialism even closer.

Today, we are facing a heavy task to attain the great 10 long-range goals of the party ahead of schedule by further spurring the fulfillment of the Third 7-Year Plan through general mobilization. Now is indeed the time for the entire party and all people to vigorously wage a lightning battle to fulfill this year's plan and the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of the schedule.

Our party is calling the entire party, the whole country, and all people to the magnificent general march to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan. "Let us mobilize ourselves in fulfilling the new long-range plan!" This is the slogan our party has put forth, and is the demand of the revolution.

The entire party, the whole country, and all people must vigorously turn out to wage a tense battle. Only then can the Third 7-Year Plan, which is very large and bold in objective, scale, and speed, be fulfilled ahead of schedule.

If the flames of the revolutionary upswing rise even higher with the meeting as the opportunity, our party's intent and plan to turn our fatherland into a world economic power and to guarantee the people an even more affluent and civilized life will be brilliantly fulfilled.

The forerunners, who have turned out in fulfilling the Third 7-Year Plan, are the standard-bearers who vigorously carry out the movement to win the red flag of the three revolutions, the movement to follow the examples of the unsung heroes, and the movement to create the speed of the eighties which have been initiated and led by our party. Thus, their important ideological and spiritual character is the indomitable fighting spirit and firm revolutionary spirit with which they implement the demands of the party and the leader through flood and fire.

Through the meeting for general mobilization held this time, the examples and feats of these forerunners will be further universalized and their ranks further expanded, thus effecting amazing innovations in production, construction, and development of science and technology.

Today, we have the wise leadership of the party and the leader. In particular, we have the wise leadership of our party possessing invincible might and peerless courage, and the great might of the unity and cohesion of the leader, the party, and the masses. In addition, we have the self-reliant socialist national economy the material and technological foundation of which has been strengthened and the infrastructures of which have been further perfected during the course of the fulfillment of the people's economic

development plans. If we struggle with firm determination, we can fulfill this year's plan and the Third 7-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The party members and working people across the country, with boundless pride and self-confidence that they are under the leadership of the great party and leader, must make the meeting for general mobilization an opportunity for an epochal turn in successfully fulfilling the Third 7-Year Plan, the far-reaching new program of socialist construction.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, has noted: Without the struggle to implement the party's decisions and direction, one cannot talk about the leadership of the party, and success is inconceivable in the revolutionary struggle and construction.

In accelerating our renewed general march with the meeting as the opportunity, it is most important to loyally uphold the leadership of the party.

The Third 7-Year Plan is the very bold and large long-range plan unfolded by our party. It is the economic construction plan organized and led by our party. We must effect great upsurge in the struggle to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan. Thus, now is indeed the time to display the loyalty to the party and the leader with deeds, not words. All functionaries and working people must continue to struggle unyieldingly with firm determination to unconditionally attain their given daily, monthly, and quarterly targets without fail. With the absolute and unconditional spirit toward the party's policy, they must make efforts to display the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, dig out hidden resources, increase production, and economize on materials. Then, amazing miracles can be created everywhere, and anyone can take great pride as a forerunner and as a standard-bearer of struggle in fulfilling the Third 7-Year Plan.

The shock-brigade members who must open a path of the rewarding general march by accepting the party's militant appeal with a burning heart are our working class. The working class are the leading class of our revolution and the core and vanguard unit of our party, which defends the line and policy of the party and takes the lead in implementing them. Thus, whenever we were in a time of severe trial, our party has depended on the working class in turning misfortune into blessing and an adverse situation into a favorable one and in glorifying the course of the revolution and construction with victory. Whenever a difficult and important task was put forth and whenever it was necessary to open a breakthrough to make a new turn in socialist construction, our party carried out a bold offense by trusting the working class, and made the working class take the lead in raising the flames of miracle and upswing.

When the working class takes the lead, the whole country will seethe. And when the working class moves forward along the road of advance, all people can dash forward toward the high peaks of the new long-range plan. The working class of the mining, metallurgical, machine, and chemical industries as well

as all other sectors of the people's economy, as they always have in the past, must set high goals and continue to vigorously advance, taking the lead in the general march with the meeting as the opportunity.

For our working class and people, nothing is more honorable than implementing the teachings of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and their embodiment, the party policy. Making oneself a member of a vanguard and shock-brigade unit to implement the party policy is a proud tradition of the Korean working class.

The working class must continue to display the spirit shown when they produced 120,000 tons of rolled steel from the 60,000-ton-capacity blooming mill during those difficult days following the war by upholding the teaching of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who said that the situation of the country will improve if steel production is increased by only 10,000 tons, and display the fighting spirit that they embroidered the sixties and seventies with a heroic epic and set an example of the century in creating the construction speed of the eighties by blocking the 20-ri rough seas in a brief period of 5 years under the leadership of the party.

By upholding the slogan of the party "The fields of the farm are my own fields!" all agricultural working people must properly conduct their farm work according to the demand of the chuche farming method. By so doing, they must fully display the vitality of the great chuche farming method.

The scientists and technicians, by putting forth bright ideas and practicing boldly according to the demands of socialist construction in the new stage, must improve the scientific and technological level of the country a step higher in a brief period.

The members of the three-revolution teams are the vanguards of the three revolutions who have been assigned to their present work sites according to the trust of our party. They are the core force of our party which protects and defends party policy on the forefront. With the meeting as an opportunity, the members of the three-revolution teams must hold the banner of the three revolutions--ideological, technological, and cultural--higher and carry out the revolutionary popular movement vigorously.

In the general march to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan, the members of the commanding staff must stand in the front ranks. Only when the functionaries become the standard-bearers of struggle who take the lead in implementing party policy and when the industrial management is ceaselessly improved through thorough application of the Taseon work system can new innovations be effected in production, construction, and the development of science and technology.

By upholding the party's militant slogan "Let us vigorously accelerate the march of the eighties in a way that the Sohae lockgate was built!" the functionaries must competently and aggressively conduct economic organizational work and the commanding work for production with the

revolutionary spirit of Mt Paektu and with the spirit of crossing the burning river and wading through swamps.

All-level party organizations must make the party members and working people deeply realize the objectives and significance of the meeting for general mobilization. By so doing, they must make them vigorously move forward to perform new feats in the struggle to fulfill the new long-range plan with the meeting as an opportunity.

The Third 7-Year Plan is a great socialist economic construction program to glorify the era which shines through the leadership and achievement of our party--the golden age of the Workers' Party. It is a magnificent blueprint to open the even bright future for our fatherland and revolution.

The struggle to fulfill the new long-range plan is a responsible work linked with the high prestige of our party and the honor of chuche Korea. It is an honorable struggle to accelerate the victory of the chuche revolutionary cause.

Our heroic working class and working people, by deeply realizing their heavy responsibility for the party and revolution, must win a great victory on the road of the general march to fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan. By so doing, they must display the might of the chuche Korea more highly.

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REGULATIONS ON CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY EXPLAINED

41100227 Pyongyang MINJU CHOSON in Korean 28 Jul 87 p 2

[Commentary: "Explanations on Laws and Regulations: 'On the Regulations on the Capital Construction Work' (1)"]

[Text] The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught as follows:

"Capital construction holds a very important position in guaranteeing a high speed for the socialist expanded reproduction and in unceasingly improving the material and cultural life of the people."

Capital construction is of very important significance in guaranteeing a high speed of the socialist expanded reproduction and in improving the people's livelihood.

Of late, the State Administration Council has newly given approval to "the Regulations on Capital Construction."

The regulations recently approved in a decision of the State Administration Council are provisions which enunciate in concrete terms, by fields, the following fundamental problems arising in capital construction: drawing general plans and designs of capital construction and deliberating on them; entering into capital construction contracts and organizing the implementation of construction; establishing standards of construction; and inspecting results of the implementation of capital construction.

The enactment of the regulations set forth by fields has effected a firm legal guarantee for thoroughly establishing the system and order in the work of capital construction and for further increasing the effectiveness of investments.

"The Regulations on Capital Construction" consist of 5 chapters or 56 articles in all.

Chapter One lays down the purposes of the regulations and objectives to which the regulations should be applied and principles governing the work of capital construction.

The regulations are designed to thoroughly implement the great leader's instructions given to the field of capital construction and intentions of the party, thereby to effect a system and order in capital construction, and to build inexpensive, useful, and strong building structures at a higher speed and in greater numbers with less material.

To build inexpensive, useful, and strong building structures with less material is a demand consistently sought by our party.

Under the judicious leadership of the great leader and our party, successful accomplishments were made in the work of capital construction during the period under review. Through the struggle designed to thoroughly implement the party policy toward capital construction, after the war in our country, a great number of large-scale, modern plants and business enterprises were built in burned out areas in a short period of time. Beautiful and grandiose modern cities, including the City of Pyongyang, the capital of revolution, and urbane and comfortable rural villages of socialist culture were erected.

Today we are faced with a task of forcefully accelerating social economic construction, to lay a strong material and technological foundation that is fit for a complete socialist society, and to bring on an epoch of great improvement in the people's livelihood. Capital construction occupies a very important position in carrying out this task. Without implementing capital construction designed to carry out expanded reproduction, according to plans, of productive or non-productive fixed properties, it would be impossible for us to provide the people with productive conditions and material and cultural benefits.

The very reason for the fact that the regulations established the criteria for building inexpensive, useful, and strong structures at a higher speed and in greater quantity with less material as one of its important purposes is to guarantee fast expansion of the socialist reproduction, to further develop the national economy, and to actively contribute to unceasingly improving the material and cultural life of the people. Therefore, all the organizations, business enterprises, and social cooperative organizations to which these regulations are to be applied must have a deep understanding of the importance of the position which capital construction takes in developing national economy and in improving the material and cultural life of the people. They must thoroughly meet and implement the demands of the regulations.

In order to do so, they must above all understand well those principles that should be observed in the work of capital construction.

One of the important principles that should be observed in the work of capital construction is that *chuche* be thoroughly established in capital construction, and that all construction be carried out in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country and with the sentiment of life of the people.

Establishing *chuche* in capital construction is a fundamental guarantee for successfully implementing the stupendous capital construction required for the entire process of socialist and communist construction. Only when *chuche* is established in capital construction, can the work of construction be

independently and creatively developed in conformity with the interests of revolution of the country and with the demands of the people.

All functionaries and workers must deeply understand that to thoroughly establish chuche in construction is, as it is the case with all other works, a starting point for the implementation of our party's policy toward capital construction. They must pay great attention to the cause of establishing chuche in capital construction.

Another important principle, as laid down in the regulations, that should be observed in capital construction is that the sequential procedure be correctly set forth for the work, that efforts be concentrated on important projects, and that the work be completed ahead of schedule as much as possible.

Only when the sequential procedure is correctly set forth for construction projects, and only when efforts are concentrated on important projects, can the period of construction be shortened, production be increased faster by starting the work ahead of schedule, and labor, materials, and funds be utilized more effectively. Should the construction force be scattered over many construction projects, no construction projects can be finished quickly, and no designs can be drawn ahead of schedule. Therefore, if that were done, operational periods for construction projects would generally be lengthened and a great amount of construction funds would be kept idle as a result.

Upholding the party's intention of concentrating construction, the organizations and business enterprises in charge must correctly set forth the sequential procedures, must build the most urgent and most needed ones first, must concentrate on investing in those building projects which carry central importance at every stage of economic development, must efficiently conduct construction guidance and guaranteeing the work, must shorten the period of operation of construction projects, and thereby must further increase production.

Another principle that should be observed in the work of capital construction is that construction be industrialized and modernized by forcefully launching the technological revolution, that the quality of building structures be improved, and that the cost of construction be reduced.

Industrializing capital construction means that designs be standardized and normalized, that prefabricated construction materials be produced with industrial methods, and that construction be carried out with the prefabrication methods and with industrial methods by means of mechanizing the operation in construction.

Industrializing construction enables capital construction to be modernized and carried out faster, more efficiently, and at a lower cost.

Industrializing construction enables materials to be standardized and produced with industrial methods. It enables construction operations to be mechanized on the basis of a solid material and technological foundation. And it enables the prefabrication method to be employed. Thus it makes it

possible for the labor production capability and construction speed to be increased, that the quality of construction be improved, and that stupendous capital constructions be carried out successfully. Therefore, it is imperative for all organizations and business enterprises to forcefully launch, in compliance with the party's intention, the struggle designed to industrialize capital construction, and see to it that builders will carry out their work with ease and still will be able to further increase their labor production efficiency in overall construction operations, including the foundation work and the assembling.

The regulations lay down another principle that should be observed in the work of capital construction. Under the principle it is imperative that construction units be standardized, that construction be normalized, that a system and order be established in the work of construction, and that construction plans be carried out without fail.

Only when the construction units are standardized, can they intensify their individual activities as an independent material production unit.

The organizations and business enterprises in charge must solidly organize the rank and file of construction functionaries, must establish a strict system and order in the work of construction, and thereby must intensify independent activities of the field of construction.

Normalizing capital construction makes it possible for the work of planning to be improved so that the factors of construction, including labor, equipment, and materials, may work in a perfect coordination, that construction be carried out by periods, by projects, and by planned norms, that fluctuations be eliminated in construction, that available construction forces be utilized reasonably, and that more construction be carried out.

The organizations and business enterprises in charge must efficiently carry out the planning work that is a fundamental factor in normalizing construction, must thoroughly observe the rules of planning, and thereby must implement without fail the capital construction plans by day, by month, and by quarters in terms of quality and quantity.

The design is the first process of capital construction. Whether or not the construction project is carried out well depends on how the design is drawn.

One can say that the design is something like a plan of operations in the military forces. Just as the combat cannot be staged well without a plan of operations, so construction cannot be carried out in the way it should if there is no design. That is why the regulations lay down a principle, which should be observed in capital construction, that the work of design be modernized, and that a design of good quality be guaranteed in order to begin construction.

An important issue in capital construction is the problem of preventing environmental pollution and of utilizing hill regions rather than arable land areas.

The scope of utilizing land continuously expands as the national economy develops. Under such circumstances, if arable lands are picked as construction sites, the area of arable land will be reduced. Therefore, the organizations and business enterprises in charge of construction must utilize more hill areas in implementing capital construction projects.

Carrying out all construction planned under the guidance and control of the state is another principle that should be observed in capital construction.

All functionaries and workers; let us thoroughly observe principles in the work of capital construction, and thereby further develop the national economy and actively contribute to unceasingly improving the material and cultural life of the people!

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INTENSIFIED SUPPORT FOR IMPORTANT TARGET CONSTRUCTION URGED

Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 28 Jul 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Further Intensify the Work of Support for Important Target Constructions"]

[Text] Today our people are forcefully accelerating, in deep faith, important target constructions designed to materialize the far-reaching plans set forth by the party.

The important target constructions on a stupendous scale which are being implemented under the planning and leadership of the party are a daring design drawn to accomplish a new prospective plan ahead of schedule, to strengthen the economic power of the nation, and to satisfactorily solve the problems of food, clothes, and shelter for the people. They represent a very worthy work that would effect a happy future for our people.

It is imperative for us to continuously concentrate our great efforts on the important target constructions which promise a brilliant perspective and to finish them at the earliest possible date.

One of the important problems arising in accelerating and finishing the important target constructions is to further intensify the work of support.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught as follows:

"In various fields of the national economy, it is imperative that the equipment and materials needed in construction be guaranteed in time, and on a priority basis, and that the whole party, the whole country, and the whole people forcefully support important target constructions." ("For a Complete Victory of Socialism," monograph, p 19)

The important target constructions, including the Rehabilitation Avenue construction, the construction of the Suncheon Vinalon Complex, and the construction of the Taechon Power Station, are constructions of an unprecedentedly huge and stupendous scale, which require a great amount of equipment, materials, and labor.

The spirit of men of the Korean People's Army and constructors who took charge of the important target constructions is high. The problem is guaranteeing the work. Only if the materials and equipment, including cement and steel materials, are sent in great quantity, can the speed of construction be increased to any extent.

Today it is our party's desire that the whole party, the whole country, and the whole people will intensify, more than ever, the work of support for the important target construction projects. When all fields and all units, upholding the will of the party, further increase their fervent enthusiasm of support for the important target constructions, fresh leaps and jumps can be brought about at every construction site.

To regard the work of support as one's own duty is prerequisite to forceful implementation of the important target constructions.

The important target constructions set forth by our party are unprecedentedly stupendous in their scale and speed. We are carrying out such stupendous constructions with our resources, our technology, and our materials and equipment.

As it was the case with the construction of the Western Sea Lock Gate, to finish an important target construction ahead of schedule means to display again the leading capability of our party, the unified and united power of our people who are firmly united around the party, and the economic strength and the power of the independent national economy of Korea. Therefore, the important target constructions are a joint work of our people. They are an honorable work for which everybody must willingly give support. All functionaries and workers, with the feeling of builders who are enthusiastically endeavoring to finish the construction at the earliest date in conformity with the demands of the party, must give priority to important target constructions, and must guarantee materials and equipment with priority to those projects with an attitude that fits the master.

In demand at every construction site are cement and steel materials. Functionaries and workers in the field of producing cement and steel materials must launch the struggle to increase production. They must produce cement and steel materials in time and responsibly.

Production of cement and steel materials in our country is extensive. Even so, if materials are dispersed, it would be impossible to forcefully accelerate important target constructions. What the party demands in guaranteeing materials and equipment is to concentrate them on important target constructions. Functionaries in the State Administration Council and in the pertinent committees and ministries must efficiently organize the work of guaranteeing resource materials, including cement and steel materials for important target constructions.

Satisfactorily guaranteeing plant facilities is one of the key links in increasing construction speed and improving the quality of construction.

Only when plant facilities are installed at an early date, can a three-dimensional warfare can be launched in construction and construction be completed ahead of schedule. In those important target construction sites, where a high construction speed is necessary, including the construction site of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the construction site of the Taecheon Power Station, they are waiting for plant facilities. Functionaries and workers of those plants and business enterprises who took charge of [producing] plant facilities must produce plant facilities assigned to them in higher quality with a strong sense of responsibility and must ship them in time.

The field of transportation is charged with an important duty in important target constructions.

No matter how much material and equipment may be produced, it will be of no use if it cannot be transported. Today the party expects transportation functionaries to more efficiently guarantee the transportation for important target constructions. In the field of traffic and transportation, including the railway, one must see to it that concentrated transport, containerized transport, and combined transport will be well organized in conformity with realities. Therefore, that not only large freight, such as cement and logs, but also various small items, will be delivered by the due date, and construction will be carried out smoothly.

The rear service work is nothing but a political work.

Concerned functionaries must shoulder the responsibility of more efficiently guaranteeing living conditions of builders of important target constructions who are launching hard battles in order to erect grand monumental creations for the happiness of descendants, generation after generation. Functionaries of pertinent organizations, including administrative and economic guidance committees of provinces, cities, and counties must further improve the work of rear supply service for builders and responsibly take care of their livelihood. They must thereby see to it that workers will devote themselves to constructions to the best of their ability, and that they will display higher revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability.

The work of support for the important target constructions is a work of the whole party, the whole country, and the whole people. The party organizations and functionaries at all levels must organize and mobilize broad masses for the work of support for important target constructions.

Today the rank and file of organizations, business enterprises, and individuals who are rendering labor and material support are increasing in number with each passing day at every important target construction site, including the site of construction of the Rehabilitation Avenue and the construction site of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex. All the party organizations, including local party organizations, must give priority to political work and efficiently launch organization work; and they must thereby see to it that the work of support will become a regular work rather than a campaign-like work, and that all will actively and vigorously launch into this work. In particular, responsible functionaries of all the party, administrative, and economic organizations must more forcefully arouse functionaries and workers of their

own units for the sake of the work of support for important target constructions.

Thus all the members of the party and workers must further raise the flames of support for the important target constructions and must thereby actively contribute to finishing them completely ahead of schedule.

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